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FINAL REPORT  
(Internal Research Project)  
(Part II)

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- Four Nationalist Movements

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LES IDEES POLITIQUES DES CANADIENS FRANCAIS

- FOUR NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

Internal Research Project  
of the Royal Commission on  
Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Charles Barker

in collaboration

C. Barker

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Section I

INTRODUCTION

by

Charles Barker



## INTRODUCTION

### Objectives of the Project

The objective of Part II of the Nationalism Project was an intensive study of four independence movements: the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale, the Regroupement National, Parti Pris, and the Alliance Laurentienne. It was hoped that the study could include a description of the organization and activities of the movements as well as a look at the personalities and views of the members themselves.

### Methods

Though pilot studies of Parti Pris and the Alliance Laurentienne were begun in the summer of 1964, the Nationalist Project as such was not launched until February, 1965. It was decided that the work on Parti Pris and the Alliance Laurentienne should be combined with the projected RIN and RN studies. Thus the Parti Pris and Alliance Laurentienne work was almost completed before the other projects were begun. The research on the RIN and RN was carried out during 1965.

The studies were undertaken during 1964-5 when separatist movements seemed strong. It was desirable in an effort to increase understanding of Quebec nationalism to look at these groups in some detail. The four particular





movements were selected because of their separatist positions and for other reasons. Parti Pris was a new and radical Leftist review in the summer of 1964. The Alliance Laurentienne was the first of modern independence groups. The RIN was the largest, and probably most influential of separatist movements. Finally, unlike the other three movements, the Regroupement National seemed strong in Quebec City and certain outlying areas rather than in Montreal.

Though the four groupings were considered in a similar way for analytical purposes, certain differences must be noted. Parti Pris, unlike the others, was formed around a review. The Alliance Laurentienne was defunct, while the other movements were active. The RIN and RN both proclaimed themselves official political parties, not movements.

The chief sources of information for all the studies except that of the Alliance Laurentienne were interviews with members. The interviews, conducted in an informal manner, were open-ended and of an average length of two to three hours. Observations made at public meetings were a second source, particularly for the studies of the RIN and RN. Publications and documents put out by the movements were examined and were very important in the research on Parti Pris and the Alliance. Finally, there were secondary sources which consisted of certain academic studies and



also newspaper clippings.<sup>1</sup>

Though much of the data was gathered and analyzed with a view to this project, the overall unity remains to some extent artificial. The research on the Alliance Laurentienne and Parti Pris was far advanced before the project as a whole was begun; therefore, the work on the four movements was not closely coordinated. The materials were assembled and analyzed by one researcher<sup>2</sup> in a manner somewhat different from that originally planned by the earlier contributors.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Two major background studies were Mason Wade's The French Canadians, 1760 - 1945 and Michael Oliver's "The Social and Political Ideas of French Canadian Nationalists 1920 - 1945". See Bibliography. The newspaper clippings were furnished by the Press Section of the Royal Commission.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Barker.

<sup>3</sup> Guy Dozois and Alfrédo Lévesque.





Section II

Rassemblement

pour

l'Indépendance Nationale

by

Charles Barker  
with the assistance of  
Alfrédo Lévesque



## I INTRODUCTION

### Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to present a comprehensive description of the RIN - its organization, its ideology, its membership, and its activities. Two main questions are raised. First, how is the RIN organized and what is the nature of RIN activities? Secondly, who belongs to the RIN, and why? These questions led us to consider other issues. With regard to the movement itself, what are the broad organizational characteristics? Who occupies which positions? Who makes the major decisions? Have there been serious internal divisions? As far as the membership is concerned, what are the personal and social backgrounds of members? What are their political philosophies and what exactly was at the basis of their decisions to become members? These have been the key questions which have animated our research.

### Methods

Twenty-seven interviews were conducted with members of the RIN.<sup>1</sup> Four types of activists were chosen. First, there were the Executive Officers. Secondly, we talked to other members who were active on certain committees and were

---

<sup>1</sup> The interviews were conducted by Charles Barker and Alfrédo Lévesque.



important in the eyes of fellow members. Thirdly, interviews were arranged with regional and county leaders. Fourthly, we were interested in student leaders.

With only one exception, all persons contacted consented to be interviewed. We introduced ourselves as researchers and social scientists from the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The place of the interview was usually a restaurant or private home. By virtue of the informal surroundings, it was usually possible to put the interviewee at his ease and to encourage him to talk freely about himself and the RIN. We generally did little more than guide the discussion along the lines which interested us the most, noting on paper only occasional items which would be difficult to recall - statistics, bibliographical material, and names of persons to contact. Many of the interviewees were very helpful indeed, showing considerable interest in the study.

Immediately after each interview, a full report was written up.

Observations were made at three RIN public meetings: the Montreal public meeting celebrating the completion of Pierre Bourgault's Quebec tour on May 12th; the 1965 National Congress; and an organizational meeting in Hull on July 7, 1965.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Another important source of information was certain RIN documents and publications. See Bibliography.





The main focus of the study was the year 1964-5 at the RIN, though careful attention is paid to certain earlier events.

### Historical Review

The RIN was founded on Saturday, September 10, 1960, by a group of thirty persons from Montreal and Hull. At the founding meeting, held in the "Le Chatelet" Inn at Morin Heights, the name "Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale" was chosen for the new movement and André d'Allemagne and Marcel Chaput were elected provisional President and Vice-President.

The first congress was held in Montreal on November 26, 1960. The election of the officers chosen at Morin Heights was confirmed and a constitution was drawn up. A public meeting of information was organized on April 4, 1961. Despite a Stanley Cup hockey match, about 500 people arrived at the Salle du Gesù on Bleury Street to hear addresses by Pierre Bourgault and Marcel Chaput. Following the meeting, many new members were recruited.

At the second congress in October, 1961, Marcel Chaput was elected president. Shortly afterwards, on December 4, he left his position as research chemist with the Defence Research Board amid public controversy and announced his intention to work full time for the RIN.



With new recruiting efforts in the fall of 1961 and in 1962, RIN sections were formed in many parts of the province. A national secretariat was opened in Montreal and the leaders began to hold regular public meetings. In October 1962, a monthly paper, l'Indépendance, was launched.

Though the RIN continued to grow in the fall of 1962, a serious internal division appeared. Many members, led by the president, Marcel Chaput, argued that the RIN should become a political party and contest the 1962 provincial elections. Others believed that such action would be premature. This issue and others were raised at the annual congress in October, 1962. The result was a decisive defeat for the Chaput group; the electoral policy was rejected and Guy Pouliot was chosen president in the place of Marcel Chaput.

Shortly after the congress, Chaput, having seen his policies rejected and lost the presidency, decided to leave the RIN and found a new group, the "Parti républicain du Québec". He was followed by about one third of the members of the RIN.

The RIN barely survived this division. Many sections split in two; others left en masse to join the PRQ. However, important changes had been made in the RIN. A specific programme had been adopted at the congress. The RIN was officially in favour of increased measures of welfare, protection of individual liberties, and economic planning.



The movement had come to stand for much more than independence alone; it was for a specific kind of independent Quebec. Further, stringent policies of economy were adopted. The movement had been living beyond its means and had accumulated large debts. Henceforth, there would be no salaries at the RIN; all work would be voluntary.

Another congress was held on March 2 and 3, 1963. On this occasion, the members took the step recommended earlier by Chaput and voted to become a political party to contest the next provincial elections.

During 1963-4, new offices were opened and the movement grew. As the PRQ was dissolved, many former members returned. At the 1964 Congress, Pierre Bourgault was elected President; Guy Pouliot became Vice-President. In the summer of 1964, another split occurred and a number of members from Quebec City and other centres left to form a new party, the "Regroupement National".

The year 1965 saw new developments. A comprehensive political programme was adopted at the National Congress. Definite plans were laid to contest the election forecast for 1966.



## II GENERAL ORGANIZATION

### Formal Structures

The formal structures of the RIN are shown in Table I (page 11). The main central organs are the National Congress, the Central Council, and the Executive Committee, and certain other committees are also based at the central secretariat. There are in addition region and county groupings.

The National Congress has ultimate authority since all other organs are responsible to it.<sup>1</sup> All members are invited to attend the National Congress, but not necessarily as official delegates with voting powers. Table 2 (page 12) depicts the composition of the Congress. The members of the Executive are "ex officio" delegates, as are the students elected from the university sections to the central and regional councils. Each of the regions and counties also sends five representatives to the congress.

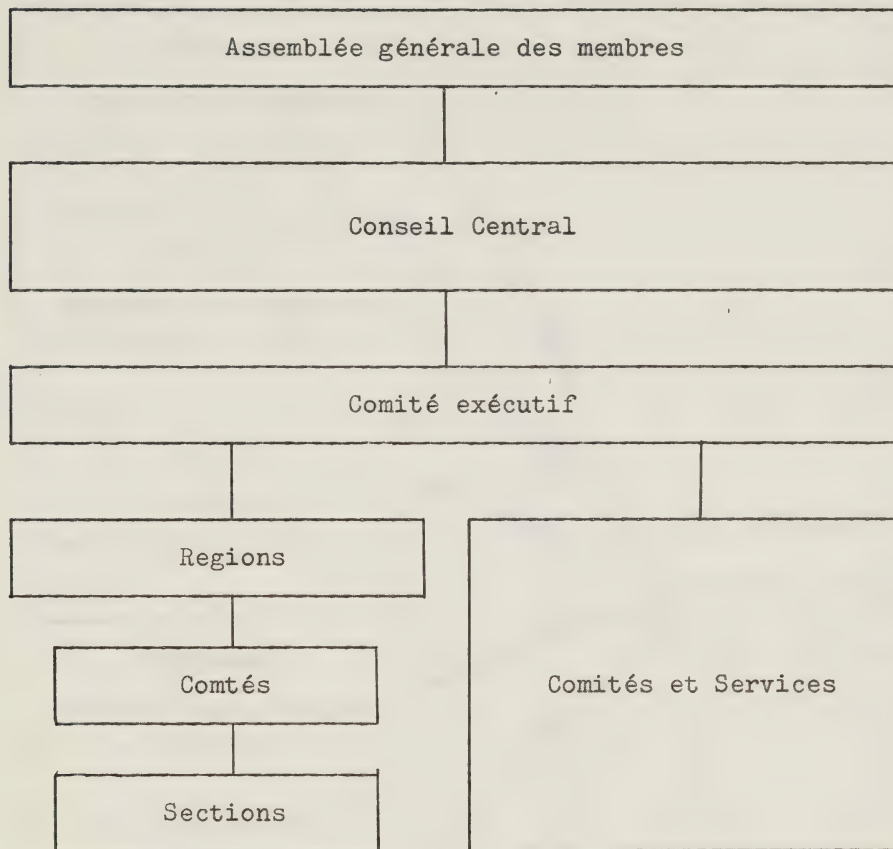
In practice, there are fewer congress delegates than Table 2 would suggest. In two or three regions and in many counties, there is no RIN grouping. Further, some regions and counties, especially those in outlying areas, may send fewer delegates than they are entitled to.

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<sup>1</sup> The Constitution of the RIN makes this clear. It reads "L'assemblée générale du RIN est souveraine et ses décisions sont sans appel". (See Appendix I, page 14 ).





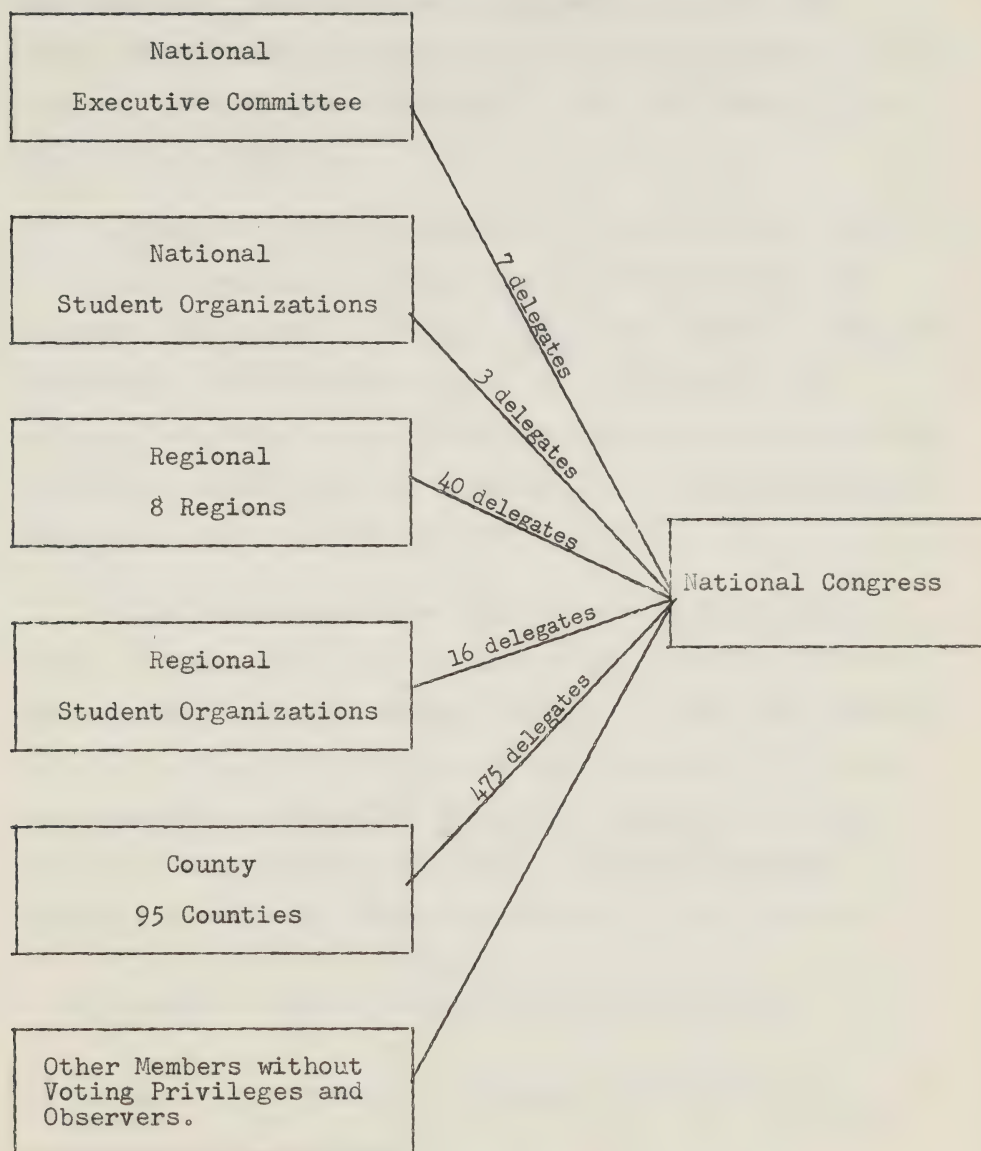
Table I: An Organizational Chart of the RIN<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This chart appears on a special RIN propaganda leaflet put out in the spring of 1965.



Table 2: The Delegates to the Congress.





A constitutional amendment adopted in May, 1964, permits very large counties to have extra representation at the congress. Those counties which have more than 100 members (there were perhaps five or six such counties in 1965) may have one additional delegate for each 100 members above the first 100 members.

A quorum is fifty delegates. 311 delegates registered at the 1965 Congress.<sup>2</sup> Either the president or the vice-president and another executive member can convoke a congress. A majority in the Central Council or a majority of the regional councils can also request that a congress be called. Congresses usually take place annually; the 1965 Congress was the seventh since the founding of the RIN.

The functions of the congress are at least four in number. First, there is the election of executive officers. The president, vice-president, and three of the five national directors are elected annually at the congress.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the congress is responsible in the last analysis for the political orientation of the RIN; a political programme becomes official only after its adoption by the congress.

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II for a report on the 1965 Congress.

<sup>3</sup> The other two directors are appointed by the Central Council.





Thirdly, the congress is the custodian of the Constitution of the RIN and it is the sole body which can amend the Constitution. Finally, the congress reviews the policies of the different bodies of the RIN, particularly the Executive.

The second body noted on the organizational chart (Table I) is the Central Council. This council is composed of twenty-six persons:

- a) the seven members of the National Executive;
- b) two representatives from the executives of each of the eight regions;<sup>4</sup>
- c) three special student delegates.

The Central Council directs the RIN during the long periods between meetings of the Congress. When the Congress is not sitting, the Council has ultimate authority to plan and carry out policies and make important decisions.<sup>5</sup>

The Executive Officers of the RIN make reports at meetings of the Central Council. The Council ordinarily

<sup>4</sup> Since there were virtually no RIN organizations in either the region of la Gaspésie or of l'Abitibi during 1965, there was little representation from these regions on the Central Council.

<sup>5</sup> The Constitution reads:  
Le Conseil central a juridiction sur les régions, les comtés et les sections. Son rôle est d'appliquer le programme et d'exécuter les décisions de l'Assemblée générale des membres à laquelle il fait rapport et principalement d'établir la politique et la stratégie du RIN, d'orienter, de planifier et de coordonner l'action des divers organismes à tous les niveaux et de prendre les initiatives de portée nationale. (See Appendix I, page 12).



delegates considerable authority to the officers but requests them to act within the policy lines defined by the Council.

The council meets regularly about six or seven times a year, usually alternately in Montreal and Quebec. The meetings take place on Saturday and last for a whole day. They are convened by the President of the RIN or by the Vice-President with the support of one of the National Directors. One third of the members of the council can request a Council meeting.

The Executive Committee of the RIN is composed of the President, Vice-President, and five National Directors. As such, it is a committee of leading members and it wields great influence. It exercises a wide range of powers in planning and carrying out policy and in dealing with day-to-day matters. The Executive Committee reports to the Central Council.<sup>6</sup>

There are approximately twenty meetings of the Executive Committee a year, or one meeting every second or third week. In addition to the meetings, there is informal private consultation among executive members.

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<sup>6</sup> The Constitution states:  
 Le Comité exécutif ... exerce le pouvoir qui lui délègue le Conseil central et il agit en son nom entre deux assemblées du dit Conseil pour régler tout problème d'administration et se prononcer sur tout sujet urgent non encore discuté ou prévu par le Conseil central ou l'Assemblée générale des membres. Le Comité exécutif central fait rapport au Conseil central quand demande lui en est faite et il en exécute les décisions.  
 (See Appendix I, page 13).



Much of the work of the central secretariat is done through committees. There are seven central committees: the Political Committee, the Propaganda Committee, the Finance Committee, the Newspaper Committee, the Secretariat Committee, the Constitution Committee and the Congress Committee.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the central bodies, there are regional and county groupings<sup>8</sup> (see Table I). Quebec is divided into eight regions and ninety-five counties, each of which has in theory a RIN organization. In theory also, but not in practice, the counties are sub-divided into well-defined divisions termed "sections". The organization of the regions and counties is similar to that of the central structures (see Table 3, page 17). There are regional and county congresses, councils, and executive committees. The counties

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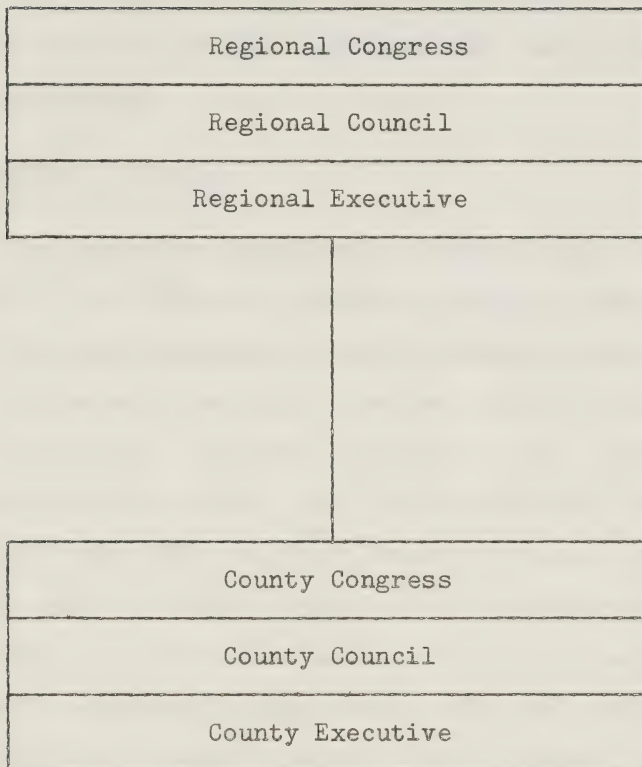
<sup>7</sup> The French names of these committees are the following:

Political Committee	-	Comité politique
Propaganda Committee	-	Comité de propagande
Finance Committee	-	Comité de finances
Newspaper Committee	-	Comité du journal
Secretariat Committee	-	Comité du secrétariat
Constitution Committee	-	Comité de la Constitution
Congress Committee	-	Comité du Congrès

<sup>8</sup> The formal organization of regions, counties, and sections is described in the "Constitution du RIN". Appendix I.



Table 3: Regional and County Organization







are subordinate to the regions, and the regions to the central organs, but regions and even counties may become autonomous to a large extent.

The student sections exist apart from ordinary local groupings and have special representation on both central and regional councils.

### The Executive Officers

The Executive Committee is headed by the National President. His office has undergone changes since the founding of the RIN, corresponding in large measure to the personalities of its occupants. The first president, André d'Allemagne (1960-1) performed a variety of tasks of both a promotional and administrative nature. His responsibilities were ill-defined, for the RIN was a very young movement. The second president, Marcel Chaput (1961-2), was a dynamic and ebullient personality. He introduced many new policies, moving the RIN towards electoralism and direct political action. However, as we have seen, Chaput's policies were rejected at the 1962 Congress and he himself was defeated in his bid for reelection. The third president, Guy Pouliot (1962-4), appeared to be a less independent personality. Perhaps because of this, and perhaps because of the Congress' rejection of the former president, Pouliot did not attempt the kind of independent decisions which had been made by his predecessors. Furthermore, Pouliot worked for the RIN on a part-time basis and



lived in Quebec, so that he was forced to delegate authority to other members of the executive. Pierre Bourgault became President in 1964 and was reelected in 1965. He tried to implant a system of collective responsibility and took pains to consult his colleagues before making important decisions.

The activities of the president and the members of the executive vary considerably. Table 4 (Page 20) gives the principal interests of the RIN officers of 1964-5. As members of the executive, all of the officers were involved in general policy-making functions through Executive Committee meetings, but at the same time each tended to develop specific interests.

Guy Pouliot, as vice-president and former president, became a close advisor to Bourgault. Pierre Renaud was financial director. Rodrigue Guité specialized in the political programme. André d'Allemagne acted as a leading theorist for the RIN and had other duties as well. Marc Girard and Guy Nadeau seemed somewhat less active.

The Executive Committee remained in contact with other organs of the RIN. Having been long associated with l'Indépendance, Pierre Bourgault continued to write for the paper. Rodrigue Guité was a former president of the Region of Montreal grouping and also a member of the Political Committee. Pierre Renaud directed the work of the Finance



Table 4: The Special Interests of the Executive (1964-5)

<div>Bourgault - President</div> <div>Public Meetings<sup>1</sup></div> <div>Political Action<sup>2</sup></div> <div>Theory<sup>3</sup></div> <div>Planning<sup>4</sup></div>		
<div>Pouliot-Vice Président</div> <div>Public Meetings</div> <div>Political Action</div> <div>Planning</div>	<div>Renaud</div> <div>Organization</div> <div>Finances</div>	<div>Girard</div> <div>Political Action</div> <div>Publicity</div>
<div>Guité</div> <div>Political Programme</div> <div>Public Meetings</div>	<div>Nadeau</div> <div>Theory</div>	<div>d'Allemagne</div> <div>Theory</div> <div>Recruiting</div> <div>Public Meetings</div> <div>Planning</div>

---

<sup>1</sup> Public Meetings - includes meetings in private homes.

<sup>2</sup> Political Action - includes demonstrations, public declarations, lobbying.

<sup>3</sup> Theory - involves systematic theoretical study of Quebec independence.

<sup>4</sup> Planning - includes policy formation.





Committee and was a general supervisor of the Congress Committee (1965). Maurice Leroux, who became a national director and member of the executive in May 1965, was Director of 1<sup>er</sup> Indépendance and a member of the Propaganda Committee. Marc Girard was a former president of the region of Saguenay-Lac St-Jean.

### Committees of the RIN

The seven central committees of the RIN vary in size and importance. The largest is the Propaganda Committee, which has some sixty members. By contrast, the Newspaper Committee has only four members. Some committees are assigned major tasks on a long term basis. Thus the Finance Committee is a permanent one. Other committees are of a more ad hoc nature and may be dissolved once their assignments are completed. For example, the Constitution Committee has been inactive since the Constitution was drawn up and approved in 1963.

The Committees are responsible in formal terms to the Central Council. In actual practice, they report first to the executive, and executive officers often sit as permanent members of the committees. The autonomy of the committees varies. The Political Committee drew up its 1965 political programme without consulting the Executive or Central Council until the work was well advanced. On the other hand, the



Secretariat Committee and the Congress Committee worked under close supervision. A brief study of the central committees seems appropriate.

The Political Committee: Soon after the founding of the RIN, a Political Committee was set up to prepare a political programme. The Committee submitted reports to the Congresses of June and October, 1962. The report of October, 1962, was adopted as the official political programme. The Political Committee was inactive during 1963, but in May, 1964, the National Congress requested that a new programme be prepared for 1965.

During the summer of 1964, the old Political Committee was dissolved and a new one appointed. Five men were chosen by the executive to serve on the new Political Committee. They were Jacques Brousseau, Claude Lamothe, Massue Belleau, Jean Décarie, and Rodrigue Guité. Jacques Brousseau was appointed chairman and Claude Lamothe secretary. Rodrigue Guité, a national director of the RIN, was to act as liaison officer with the executive. During the absences of Jacques Brousseau, Guité took the chair.

The new committee met for the first time in August, 1964. Initial meetings were devoted to working plans. The committee decided to proceed by commissioning studies and to build its reports around the findings of these studies. In this way, the programme would be based on concrete facts and



findings. Quebec independence would be an assumption of the programme rather than a subject per se to be discussed at length.

To commission studies, the committee had to find the necessary talent. It consequently communicated, during the fall of 1964, with a large number of specialists both inside and outside the RIN. Normally, a committee member would explain the type of study desired and the specialist, if interested, would be invited to a committee meeting where he would be given further details and a better idea of the work of the committee as a whole. Though all the work was to be voluntary, about thirty persons, or perhaps one half of those approached, agreed to do studies. The contractors came from positions in private industry, universities, and the provincial civil service. Many were not members of the RIN. Their anonymity was guaranteed.

The committee met occasionally with the contractors during the fall of 1964 to assure coordination of the work. Three broad divisions were set up: economic, socio-cultural, and political. Within these divisions, sub-sections were created. The five committee members and thirty contractors divided into seventeen sub-committees.

The late fall and winter, 1964-5, were devoted to work on the studies. The committee met less regularly. Most of the studies were completed in the late winter. The





consideration of the reports and the beginning of the writing of drafts for the political programme started during the winter. This was a difficult task. Agreement was often reached only after long debate. Reports were considered first in one of the seventeen sub-committees and then by the committee itself. During March and April, 1965, the committee met for extremely long hours. There was usually a meeting Saturdays from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. and Sundays from 12 p.m. till late in the evening. Further, there were shorter meetings on many week nights.<sup>9</sup>

By the end of March, the committee had hammered out 228 separate resolutions which were drawn up into a document of seventy-five pages; it was submitted to the Executive and Central Council on March 31. A new series of discussions began. The Executive and Central Council were favourably impressed by the programme, but they asked for minor changes. On Sunday, April 25, a final version of the programme was adopted. This version became the official report of the Political Committee. At the beginning of May, copies of the report were sent to all delegates to the Congress. Delegates were requested to give close attention to the programme. The members of the Political Committee offered to meet with sections wishing to discuss the programme prior to the

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<sup>9</sup> Since the Committee members were employed, most of the meetings had to be held during evenings or weekends.





congress. Those wishing to propose amendments to the programme were informed that they would have to send the texts of their amendments to the National Secretariat before the congress met.

The report of the Political Committee became the major item on the 1965 Congress agenda. The Congress divided into committees to study the three major parts of the programme - economic, socio-cultural, and political. The Committees approved the programme, making only minor changes. The programme as amended was then presented to the Congress in plenary session, where it received a second examination and, finally, formal approval.<sup>10</sup>

With acceptance by the congress, the Political Committee's report became the official programme of the RIN. The committee members viewed this as the completion of one stage of their work. They planned to meet in the fall of 1965 and in 1966 to review the programme. Some propositions presented at the congress had been referred back to the committee. Education had been studied in general terms only - a more complete report on education was necessary. Finally, it was noted that a programme had to be kept up to date and that this would be the duty of the Political Committee.

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<sup>10</sup> For the text of the Political Programme, See Appendix VII.



The Constitution Committee: A committee of six was set up during 1962-3 to draft the constitution for the RIN under the chairmanship of Pierre Verdy, a Montreal lawyer and member of the RIN.

The committee held its first meetings during the winter of 1962-3. It was requested to prepare a draft of the RIN constitution for the 1963 National Congress. The intention was that the work be done in committee, i.e. that the committee members as a group would write the constitution. Pierre Verdy took the lead in organizing committee meetings. However, the work proceeded slowly. Attendance at the meetings was poor, and not all committee members were well informed on constitutional and legal matters. Finally, the meetings were discontinued and Verdy alone drafted the constitution. Once completed, it was submitted to the committee and approved with some modifications.

Having obtained the approval of the committee, Verdy took the draft before the Central Council early in 1963. However, because of the Chaput schism, the Council wished to make changes. Among other things, it wished to eliminate the different categories of members<sup>11</sup> and put the movement on an electoral footing. Accordingly Verdy was asked to revise

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<sup>11</sup> Until 1963, the RIN had three categories of members - "membres militants", "membres actifs", and "membres sympathisants".



his constitutional draft. It was presented to the March 1963 Congress and approved as the Constitution of the RIN.<sup>12</sup>

During 1963-4 and 1964-5, the Constitutional Committee was inactive. Verdy himself became a legal and constitutional advisor to the executive. As such, he prepared legal opinions and constitutional studies, and he acted as chairman of the National Congresses of 1964 and 1965.

The Secretariat and the Congress Committees: These two committees were mainly organizational. The objective of the former was to mobilize the persons to do the administrative work at the Central Secretariat. The Congress Committee performed a similar function with regard to the congress - the arranging of three days of meetings for large numbers of people. Both the Secretariat and the Congress Committees worked under the supervision of the executive. Both tended to be large and poorly defined. Wives of members were active on these committees.

The Finance Committee: The Finance Committee was headed by Pierre Renaud, the financial specialist of the RIN. The Committee administered party finances on a day-to-day basis, but reported regularly to the Executive and Central Council. These bodies were consulted on major questions.

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<sup>12</sup>For the text of the Constitution, see Appendix I.





Early in 1965, Renaud sought Council approval for the purchase of a \$1,500 duplicating machine. By contrast, he bought a second-hand typewriter worth \$30 on his own authority. However, every RIN cheque had to be signed by two members of the Executive; thus Renaud alone could not formally authorize a payment.

The Propaganda Committee: The Propaganda Committee of the RIN dealt with public relations. Its goal was to maintain and foster good public relations for the RIN and to make the ideas and programmes of the party better known and accepted.<sup>13</sup>

Besides the Central Propaganda Committee, there were regional propaganda committees, of which one, in Montreal, was large and active. The Montreal committee worked closely with the Central Committee on problems of publicity. Joint memberships were the principal means of liaison between the Central and Montreal committees.

The Central Propaganda Committee was composed of approximately sixty persons working part time. However, there was probably a high turnover rate in the committee personnel.

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<sup>13</sup> The Committee Chairman of 1964-5 remarked that the goal of the Committee was to "faire parler du RIN et d'en faire parler en bien".



The committee was divided into five sub-committees:

1. The Publicity Sub-Committee;
2. The Press Relations Sub-Committee;
3. The Films Sub-Committee;
4. The Radio and Television Sub-Committee;
5. The Demonstrations Sub-Committee.

Marc Lavallée was chairman of the Central Propaganda Committee for 1964-5. He had the assistance of two secretaries and attended meetings of each of the sub-committees. One of the chairman's major responsibilities was to plan and coordinate information policies which had often been confused and contradictory. Official views had differed from time to time and place to place. The lack of a common position meant that in some statements a person such as René Lévesque would be a hero, while in others a traitor.

Lavallée attempted to set up common lines for publications and met with some success. For instance, on the subject of René Lévesque, Propaganda Committee leaders agreed to say nothing, favourable or unfavourable. It was decided that the chief targets for criticism should be Jean Lesage and Claude Wagner.

The committee was able to do a good deal in public relations with little money. It had access to a printing press and paid only the cost of the paper and ink used for its publication. It also had access to a private telephone



network. The long-term hope was that many of the publicity services could be made to pay for themselves.

Through its work in organizing demonstrations, the Propaganda Committee came to deal with other nationalist groups. Non-RIN nationalists participated in some of the marches and protests, and the RIN was forced to negotiate with these other nationalists if the demonstrations were to be well organized. Marc Lavallée and certain other Committee members became special liaison officers with other groups - Parti Pris, the Front pour la Libération du Québec, the Front Républicain pour l'Indépendance, and the Chevaliers de l'Indépendance. Through their contacts, Propaganda Committee members had been able to organize joint marches.

The Newspaper Committee and l'Indépendance: Soon after the RIN was founded, a small monthly bulletin was set up. In the fall of 1962, it was converted into a regular monthly newspaper, l'Indépendance. Marcel Chaput became the first director of the paper and Pierre Bourgault editor-in-chief.

The schism in the winter of 1962-3 forced a reorganization of the new Committee. Chaput left, and Pierre Bourgault carried on with a somewhat different staff. In 1964, Pierre Léger replaced Bourgault and Lysiane Gagnon became editing secretary. Several other writers joined the staff.





Early in 1965, the Committee was faced with serious personnel problems due to illness and other reasons. Pierre Bourgault returned, but his duties as national president kept him from devoting much time to editing. The Committee managed to bring out the paper in a new and improved format in February 1965, but the editing staff remained very shorthanded. At the same time, a financial crisis arose. During February and March, it was possible to collect only \$700 of the needed \$1000 of advertising. Accordingly, the Committee was forced to discontinue publication of 1° Indépendance indefinitely.

New hope for the demoralized Newspaper Committee came with Maurice Leroux. Leroux, who had been a public relations expert with the Quebec Liberal party, was convinced that 1° Indépendance could be made into a self-paying paper. He placed his proposals for a newspaper reorganization before the Central Council; the proposals were accepted and Leroux was given full direction of the paper.

Leroux restored the publication of 1° Indépendance on June 20, 1965. The cost of printing was more than covered by new advertisements, subscriptions, and small donations. About 15,000 copies were printed, and plans were made to increase the printing to 19,000 if demand proved sufficient. Furthermore, the paper was now to appear every two weeks.

Maurice Leroux brought new staff to the Newspaper Committee. Roch Denis became editing secretary and was given





a very small salary. Leroux had a list of 100 persons from whom he expected occasional contributions. However, many of these persons would remain anonymous because of their positions. Some reorganization was carried out among the distribution staff. Leroux hoped for greater cooperation among region and county workers to increase the circulation of the paper.

The continued regular publication of l'Indépendance required great efforts on the part of the Newspaper Committee, whose members had to spend long hours at their work. At the time of writing, (1965), this work remained almost entirely voluntary since the paper had not become a remunerative financial operation.

#### Administrative Problems.

Finances: During 1963-4 and 1964-5, a major source of RIN revenue was the membership fee of \$7.00 a year for ordinary members, \$12.00 a year for married couples, and \$4.00 for students.<sup>14</sup> Other revenue came from donations from private individuals and firms. Still other funds were acquired by collections at public meetings.

Four items of expenditure were important. First, there was the rent and upkeep of the offices. Secondly, the

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<sup>14</sup> Fees have varied slightly. The fee scale cited here was fixed at the 1965 Congress.



party paid the travelling expenses of the president. Thirdly, major expenses were incurred to secure the accommodations for the National Congress. Fourthly, until 1964, the RIN had to service the debts contracted in 1961-2.

Between 1963 and 1965, RIN revenues matched expenditures. This was the result particularly of the efforts of Pierre Renaud, who developed a new system of finances. One of the touchstones of this system was voluntary work. Virtually, no salaries were paid. An exception to this rule was the president, who was paid a salary of \$40 a week for full-time work (1964-5), from a special fund set up from donations of private members of the RIN. Through this strict method of financing, the RIN was able to increase its assets and extend its activities gradually during 1963-4 and 1964-5. At the same time, it was able to repay earlier debts.

Staffing: The RIN had only voluntary workers in 1963-4 and 1964-5. As there was almost no full-time staff, offices tended to take on a somewhat unprofessional appearance and staffing problems were sometimes serious. Most of the senior personnel earned their living through other employment and, despite their interest in the RIN, much of their attention had to be directed to outside matters.

Staffing problems were acute at junior levels also. The RIN did not have sufficient secretarial and clerical staff. Wives of members, students, retired persons, and



others did secretarial work on an ad hoc basis. The fact that the RIN had access to an office overload service did alleviate the situation. Nevertheless, the leaders themselves were often forced to do secretarial and clerical work. The part-time nature of the personnel meant that it was difficult to assure the continuity of RIN work.





### III REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

#### The Geographic Division of Functions

The division of roles between central, regional, and county organizations of the RIN is described in Table I (page 36). A clear line of authority is also shown passing from the central organization through the regional to the county organizations.

The responsibilities of the central organs are general. The central leaders are the overall planners and policy-makers. They develop the electoral strategy of the party and direct political actions, such as the Honey Dew sit-in of June 22, 1965.<sup>1</sup> They supervise the regional organizations to assure cooperation between regions and adequate progress in all regions. The central authorities are also responsible for publicity, particularly the more specialized aspects such as film-making and the publication of l'Indépendance. Finally, the Constitution and Political Programme are the exclusive preserve of the central bodies.

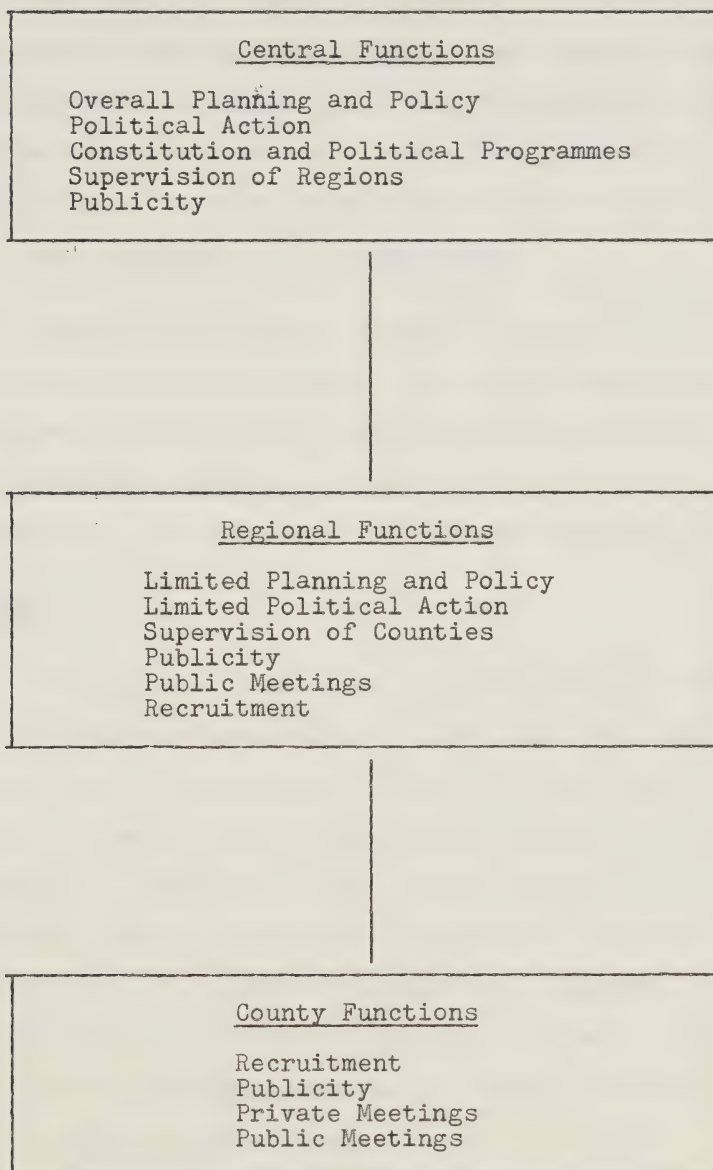
The regional functions are shown on Table I. These are less general but there is some overlapping with the central authority. The regions are responsible for limited

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of the Honey Dew sit-in, see pages 99-100.



Table I: The Geographic Division of Functions.





planning and policy, and they can engage in political action. The stimulus for the RIN participation in the Gilles Legault march<sup>2</sup> came from the region of Montreal not from the National Secretariat. The regions supervise the counties and assure liaison between the counties. There is also publicity. A region must assure that the RIN has good publicity in its locality and it can take initiatives to assure this. Finally, regions are responsible for recruitment.

County functions are listed in Table 1. The primary county function is recruiting. The county organization should be tailored to attract new members, and a successful county is one with many members. County organizations are also concerned with publicity and with private and public meetings.

### The Region

The regional organizations of the RIN are modeled after the central organization. There is a regional congress, a council, and an executive. There are eight regions in the Province of Quebec, each, theoretically, with its own organization. Montreal is the largest and much the best organized. Quebec, Richelieu, Saguenay-Lac St-Jean, Laurentien, and Estrie also have definite groupings. Gaspésie and Abitibi are two regions where the RIN appears very weak. As the largest of the regions, Montreal is worthy of study.

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<sup>2</sup> For a description of the march, see pages 97-8.



The formal organization of the region of Montreal is shown in Table 2 (page 39). The Executive Committee is composed of five persons: the president, two vice-presidents, and two directors. The president and vice-presidents are elected by the congress, the directors by the council. During 1964-5, the executive committee met regularly every week.

The Montreal regional council consists of thirty-nine members. It includes the five members of the executive, two special student delegates from the Université de Montréal, and two members from the executives of each of the sixteen counties. The regional council meets once a month, ordinarily in the evening of the second Wednesday of the month.

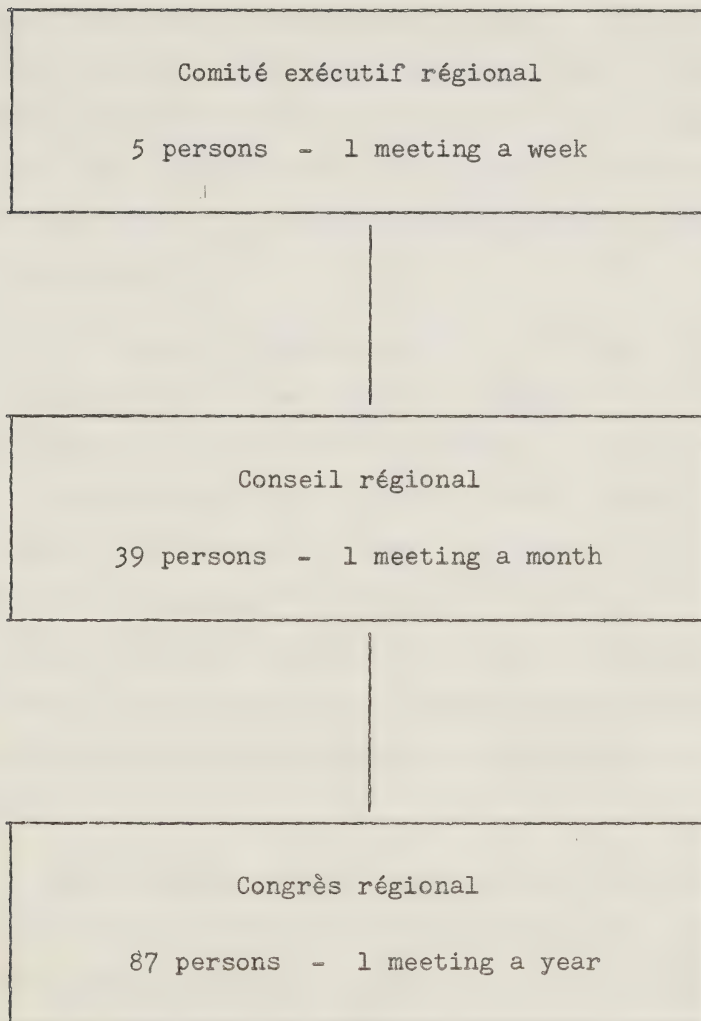
The regional congress is composed of eighty-seven delegates. These are the five executive members, the two special student delegates, and five delegates from each of the sixteen counties, though this latter number may vary. Counties with more than 100 members may have an additional delegate for every extra 100 members, while those with few members may have less than five delegates. The congress takes place regularly each spring shortly before the National Congress. This permits Montreal delegates to meet as a group before the National Congress.

The regional leaders display an active interest in county groupings, serving as consultants and general aides, especially to disorganized counties. They also act as coordinators between the central secretariat and the counties.





Table 2: The Formal Organization of the  
Region of Montreal (1965)





The regional council appears to be a fine forum for exchanges. Here representatives from the counties meet and talk over their activities. In 1963, some special techniques in private meetings<sup>3</sup> organization were developed in Ahuntsic county, discussed at the Montreal council, and then introduced in other counties. The region is thus a type of supervisory organization which directs the counties. It is noteworthy that the 1965 congress added an amendment to the Constitution permitting regions to reorganize counties where the RIN group was in disarray.

The region is often active in its field of publicity. The Saguenay region, for example, bought TV time on a private station for special RIN programmes. Time was rented on five occasions during 1963-4 for fifteen minute periods at the cost of \$135 for each period. Another regional activity is the public meeting. The Saguenay region held a meeting when Pierre Bourgault arrived for a tour in November, 1964. The Montreal region organized a special meeting on May 12, 1965, to celebrate the completion of Bourgault's tour of the province.

The personnel at the regional level is recruited from among the most successful workers in the county organizations. Thus the 1965-6 president of the region of Montreal was once

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<sup>3</sup> English translation of "assemblée de salon".



president in the County of Bourget; the 1964-5 president was formerly head of Outremont County.

The region and the county each receive one quarter of every member's fee, while the central organization receives one half. The major expenses of the regions are rentals for office space and assembly halls, publicity costs, and administrative expenses.

The region of Montreal set up a secretariat in 1962. In September 1964, a new office was opened distinct from the National Secretariat (which was also located in Montreal). The new regional office was on St. Catherine Street East and consisted of a small apartment with the rooms made over into offices. Despite the separation of the Montreal region office from the National Secretariat, relations between regional and central leaders remained close. The Montreal president was in almost daily contact with the central leaders.

In 1965, the Montreal region boasted three counties with more than 100 members and twelve other counties with smaller groupings.

### The County

The counties are the smallest units of organization of the RIN. They vary in size from over 100 members to tiny handfuls of half a dozen. Their make-up is similar to that of the regions, but they are much smaller. Each county has a





president, two vice-presidents, and two directors. There is a county congress, a county council, and a county executive.

The function of the county is to advance the cause of the RIN on the local level. One goal is recruitment. County workers must meet the people, interest them, and draw them into the RIN. Ideally, each person must be found a position and given work to satisfy him. Programmes must be developed, publicity improved and meetings held.

The practical problems connected with county organization are considerable. In Outremont county Maurice Dufresne, who was president during 1962-3 and 1963-4, stimulated much interest in the RIN by holding public meetings and inviting guest speakers. Among the speakers brought in were a Hydro-Quebec employee with knowledge of the Manicouagan projects, a journalist to speak on the French language, and an industrialist to outline the possibilities for the steel industry in Quebec.

In Ahuntsic county Bernard Desrosiers, president for 1965-6, worked hard on rebuilding the RIN organization. He was shocked when only seventeen out of 270 registered members attended the 1965 County Congress. He prepared a questionnaire to determine the interests and views of county members as a preliminary step in the reconstruction. The questionnaire was to be administered by an executive officer of the county to every registered member.



M. and Mme Bernard Desrosiers made serious efforts to win new members. During 1964-5, they held on average one meeting in their home every week. This meant receiving from twelve to fifteen persons for discussions on the RIN. Usually, a well-known member, such as Pierre Bourgault, André d'Allemagne, Pierre Renaud, Rodrigue Guité, or Claude Lamothe gave a short address of 20 minutes which was followed by a question period. Literature was available and those who wished could take out membership cards. The goal was to have a good electoral organization in the county for 1966.

In St-Henri county, Honoré Rizzoli and other members were able to set up a good organization and to open a county office. However, Rizzoli, as president for 1964-5 and 1965-6, was faced with certain problems. The county members were very action-oriented and were continually planning demonstrations and political action. Such action had to be cleared through the Montreal regional executive and permission was often refused. This left Rizzoli in a difficult position between the regional leaders and disappointed county members.

RIN workers often faced obstruction and hostility. On several occasions, offices suffered from vandalism. On October 9, 1964, the Montreal regional office was set on fire and only saved by the timely arrival of the fire department. One county leader reported receiving threatening telephone calls. Another observed that local police used every by-law to frustrate RIN activities in the county.



## The University Sections

Students enjoyed a special place in the RIN from the beginning. They were not organized like other members into regions or counties, but were given separate structures with special representation on the regional and central councils. Between 1960 and 1965, RIN students formed sections at the University of Montreal and Laval University. The University of Montreal Section was the larger and older, but the Laval students were also active. Sections in colleges and schools were slow to develop.

The University of Montreal Section: The University of Montreal section was founded in 1960 by ten students. It won instant popularity and, by the end of the year 1960-1, it boasted 100 members. The following two years were less successful. In 1961-2, the president neglected the section to work for the Quartier Latin, while in 1962-3, the leadership was unpopular among the student body. Better times came in 1963-4 when a student with administrative experience, Marcel Masse, was elected president. Masse gave the section a new dynamism and the membership climbed from a handful to eighty. The 1964-5 president, André Martel, carried on the reforms introduced by Masse, so that by 1965 there were 150 members. Guy Viel, 1965-6 leader, also proved active.





Following the reforms of 1963-4, the section developed a permanent administrative structure. The section was directed by an executive, aided by four special committees - the Expansion Committee, the Propaganda Committee, the Archives Committee, and the Research Committee.<sup>4</sup> The Executive Committee was composed of ten members:

1. the President
2. the Vice-President
3. the Secretary
4. the Treasurer
5. the Technical Advisor (the former President)
6. the Assistant to the President
7. the Director of the Expansion Committee
8. the Director of the Propaganda Committee
9. the Director of the Archives Committee
10. the Director of the Research Committee.

The President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer were elected at the annual congress of the university section held each spring. The Technical Advisor was the retiring President. The Assistant to the President was appointed by the President himself. A President's mandate lasted only one year.

A central objective of the university section was to propagate the idea of independence and other RIN policies

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<sup>4</sup> The French names of the four committees were the following:

Expansion Committee	-	Comité d'expansion
Propaganda Committee	-	Comité de propagande
Archives Committee	-	Comité des archives
Research Committee	-	Comité de recherche.





among the students. To do this, student leaders of the RIN paid particular attention to the "Association générale des étudiants de l'Université de Montréal" and the student paper, Le Quartier Latin. They secured the election of several RIN members to positions in both the AGEUM and Le Quartier Latin editorial board during 1963-4 and 1964-5. It was possible to influence the policies of these organizations. For instance, a RIN member prepared the AGEUM's submission to the Constitutional Committee of the Quebec Legislative Assembly. Another prepared an AGEUM draft protesting the Queen's visit to Quebec. The RIN section also helped the AGEUM to carry out political actions, such as the protest demonstration before the Quebec Parliament at the time of the Federal-Provincial Conference on April 1, 1964.

Among other 1964-5 activities were recruiting and publicity campaigns. Public meetings were held and leaders of the RIN or other personages were invited to give a talk. Certain meetings of the section were made public, so that interested students could attend and become more aware of the RIN. Occasionally, small kiosks were set up on campus to sell RIN publications and other types of literature.

During 1963-4 and 1964-5, a student from the Hautes Etudes Commerciales was in charge of the finances. At one point in 1964-5, the section had \$1,500 in its treasury; at the end of the year, there remained a surplus of \$100.



Revenues came from membership fees, sale of literature, and from collections at public meetings. Among the expenses were the renting of halls and publicity. Funds in the treasury not immediately needed were often invested.

During the first years of the student section, there was little regular communication between the University of Montreal section and the central organs. Students had a tendency to view themselves as the avant-garde and to remain apart from the rest of the RIN. During 1964-5, President André Martel attempted to improve relations between the students and other members. He resisted any effort to deprive the section of its special status, but he worked for a closer association with other parts of the RIN. He made sure that the section sent the full number of delegates allocated to it to meetings of the Central Council. He made attending these meetings a regular function of the vice-president. He also nominated delegates to attend meetings of the Montreal Regional Council, of the Central and Regional Propaganda Committees, and of the Central Political Committee. In addition, students from the university section helped with the organization of outside branches of the RIN. Guy Viel, president for 1965-6, planned a new recruitment campaign among classical college students in Montreal.



The Laval University Section: The Laval University Section was founded in February 1962, two years after the Montreal Section. During its first year, the Section met with success and its numbers swelled to fifty. In succeeding years, the Section made more moderate gains, and by the fall of 1965 there were 100 members.

The Section was directed by a President, three Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer. These members met regularly as the Executive Committee of the Section. Once a year there was a general meeting of members, or congress, to elect a new Executive. There were also periodic general meetings to discuss policy.

The activities of the Laval Section, like that of Montreal, were directed toward making the RIN better known among students. As in Montreal, the RIN students were able to influence the policies of the "Association générale des étudiants de Laval"(AGEL) and Le Carabin to ensure favourable positions vis à vis the RIN. In October, 1965, the Section held a special RIN week on campus. A number of guest speakers, including Pierre Bourgault and Guy Pouliot, were invited to address the students. In addition, a good deal of RIN literature was distributed.

Among the revenues of the Section were membership fees, donations from professors and students, money received in hats passed at meetings, and income from the sale of literature on





campus. Expenses included travelling expenses for visiting speakers, advertisements in Le Carabin and the Botin des étudiants, and the printing of propaganda.

In 1965, the Laval RIN Section had about 100 members, more than any other political party on campus. Section members were studying primarily in the Social Sciences (twenty members), Law (fifteen members), and "Lettres" (fifteen members), but there was at least one member from every faculty. About one third of the registered members were actively interested in the Section and could be counted on to attend almost every RIN meeting.

The students appeared to have an important place in the RIN. They formed two dynamic sections, and played an active role on RIN committees and councils. The students tended to regard themselves as the avant-garde of the RIN. At the University of Montreal particularly, students were more radical than the membership at large, reading Parti Pris, Socialisme 64, Révolution québécoise, Les damnés de la terre, and other literature treating questions of decolonization and social revolution. Finally, the student sections appeared to be successful in their primary objective of making the RIN well known and highly regarded on university campuses.



#### IV IDEOLOGY

##### Three Early Statements

One of the first ideological statements of the RIN appeared in Marcel Chaput's book, Pourquoi je suis séparatiste.<sup>1</sup> Published in 1961, it was endorsed by RIN members and became a classic critique of the status quo. In 1962, the RIN adopted a Political Programme at the October Congress. In this programme, the movement defined not only its political goals but also its views on economic and social matters. Yet another statement of position was contained in the brief submitted in April, 1964, to the Constitutional Committee of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec. These three documents - Chaput's book, the 1962 Programme, and the 1964 brief - describe the views of the RIN during the years 1961-4.

Chaput's book: Pourquoi je suis séparatiste constituted a strong critique of the federal system and existing state of relations between English and French-speaking Canadians. A controversial book, it provided the RIN with arguments in the separatist-antiseparatist debate.

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<sup>1</sup> One should note that Pourquoi je suis séparatiste was the work of Marcel Chaput alone and was never officially endorsed by the RIN. However, the book was generally acclaimed by members and, shortly after its publication, Chaput was elected President of the RIN.



Chaput begins by discussing the situation of French Canada and the need for separation. It is argued that Confederation was forced on French Canada and that French Canadians as a group are not free. They are a perpetual minority overruled by the majority in Parliament, the Federal administration and the Supreme Court. In the area of federal-provincial relations, the French Canadian Quebec Government is dominated by the English Canadian Federal Government. Quebec pays more into the federation than she receives from it.

With regard to culture and language, Chaput affirms that the French language and culture are nowhere respected. English is the language of everyday use in the work world, and French is rapidly becoming a language of folklore. French Canadians are subjected to bilingualism and remarks such as "Speak White!"

After discussing the unfortunate situation of French Canada, Chaput proceeds to look for solutions. One solution is assimilation. French Canadians could become English-speaking and join the United States. Another course is a reformed federation. However, a reformed federation could not last; it would become a centralized state. A confederation of states is a definite possibility. Nevertheless, the best policy of all is complete independence. National peoples should form separate states and Quebec independence is the





only solution consistent with the full development and dignity of the French Canadian people.

Since independence appears to be the best solution, Chaput pushes his inquiry farther. Is independence legitimate? viable? opportune? possible? To each of these questions there is an affirmative answer. Chaput reduces the issue to the following - should French Canadians continue as a minority in a large country or a majority in a smaller one? The majority option is the only one. Chaput concludes with an appeal to French Canadians to make their choice for freedom and independence.

The 1962 Programme: In October 1962, the RIN formally adopted a political programme. A document of fourteen pages, it proposed recommendations in a wide range of areas.

Cultural affairs are a subject of real interest. The Quebec Government must take steps to strengthen the French culture. A number of policies are to be recommended: closer links to other French-speaking countries, a national broadcasting network, and aid to cultural activities at the local level. French should be made the sole official language. Education should be free and accessible at all levels, and educational programmes planned to equip society with the skilled manpower needed. Schools should provide religious instruction only to those who desire it.





Another part of the programme is devoted to economic policy. More planning is essential. This could be done through an economic council and other special bodies. Particular attention should be focused on local economies and agriculture. Industrial and commercial advance could be aided by the establishment of an Institute of Industrial and Commercial Research. In the field of public services, utilities with monopolies should be nationalized gradually and administered by the State.

In a section on social policy, the programme stresses the need for measures to safeguard the rights of the individual: freedom of life, speech, political activity, press, religion, association, and education. Women should have rights equal to those of men. Welfare measures are essential to assure everyone at least a minimum standard of living. The penal system should be reformed and the death penalty abolished. A health plan and better provision for town planning is recommended. The right to collective bargaining and strike action should be recognized for all wage earners, including civil servants.

In political affairs, the programme envisages sweeping reforms. The National Assembly should be elected on the basis of universal suffrage and proportional representation. Expenses of political parties must be controlled by the state. With political corruption considered a serious crime, civil



servants would be chosen solely on a merit basis. The independent Quebec would belong to the U.N. and to the Organization of American States. Opposing all nuclear arms and rejecting war as a solution to political problems, Quebec would work for world peace.

In summary, the goal is a society which would be "French, free, democratic, and humanist"<sup>2</sup>. In order to achieve this goal, the programme recommends independence from the Canadian federation and the establishment of a republic in Quebec.

The Brief to the Constitutional Committee: In April 1964, the RIN presented a brief to the Constitutional Committee of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec. A comprehensive document of forty-five pages, it was prepared by André d'Allemagne for the Executive Committee and presented the case for separation from the Canadian Confederation.

The question of French Canadian nationhood is discussed at the beginning. A nation is defined as "a historical and cultural community possessing its own government and institutions and established within a well-defined territory".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The 1962 Programme reads at page 14: Enfin aucun programme du RIN ne saurait être complet sans un rappel du but que nous poursuivons....cette société française, libre démocratique et humaniste dans laquelle nous voulons vivre demain....

<sup>3</sup> The RIN brief reads at page 4: Les juristes, les hommes politiques et les sociologues donnent de la nation diverses définitions dont l'essentiel peut se résumer comme suit: Une communauté historique et culturelle, possédant un gouvernement et des institutions qui lui sont propres, et établie sur un territoire délimité.  
See Appendix V for the text of the brief.



On the basis of this definition, French Canadians can be said to form a nation because of their history, cultural unity, territory of Quebec, institutions and government, ethnic homogeneity, religious unity and internal dynamism. It follows that the Quebec State is the political expression of the French Canadian nation and that nation's principal political instrument.

The brief affirms that the powers of the State of Quebec are seriously limited under the present régime. With limited constitutional authority, Quebec has only certain powers of taxation. The freedom of action of the Quebec Government is also curtailed by a political system which permits certain interests undue influence through contributions to party campaign funds.

It is argued that many of the anomalies in Quebec political life arise from the federal system and the attempt to make the Federal Government, which is English Canada's national government, into a supra-national government with jurisdiction not only over English Canada but over French Canada as well. It is not surprising that conflicts between Ottawa and Quebec have been a constant in Canadian history.





## The 1965 Programme

The 1965 Political Programme of the RIN is a document of seventy-five pages and 208 articles. Far more comprehensive and detailed than the 1962 Programme, it constitutes a set of proposals for government action in Quebec.

Built around studies of Quebec conditions, the Programme makes many recommendations. The overall objective is the full and free development of the Quebec people. In the economic field, this means the development of secondary industry, full employment, industrial decentralization away from Montreal, and government control of the economy in the common interest of all Quebecers. Socio-cultural goals are balanced education and technical training programmes, universal and complete social security and assistance, urban renewal, removal of disparities in the standard of living, and the full development of the French language and culture. Objectives in the political domain are Quebec independence, democratization of the political process and administrative decentralization toward regional centres in Quebec.

To achieve these objectives, the French Canadian people must make careful use of the Quebec state. Planning is necessary and should be global, covering all aspects of the life of the society. Strong and decisive action must accompany the planning.



A number of specific recommendations follow from the introductory sections of the Programme. A Central Planning Commission<sup>4</sup> is needed. Short two year and longer five year plans should be designed. For administrative purposes, Quebec should be divided into about a dozen distinct regions.

Economic Affairs: The Quebec economy is seen as under-developed. With few secondary industries, the economy depends upon the exploitation of basic raw materials. Many industries are controlled by non-Quebec interests. The Quebec Government must take strong action to rectify the situation. The Programme reviews and makes recommendations in sixteen sectors of the Quebec economy:

1) Foreign Trade: The Programme notes Quebec's links with outside economies, and foresees trade agreements with (English) Canada and the United States. Efforts should be made to diversify Quebec's exports.

2) Foreign Investment: Foreign long term investment in Quebec should be channelled into sectors given priority in the planning.

3) Banking and Credit: The Banking and Credit System should be designed to encourage saving and control consumption. A central Quebec banking system is needed.

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<sup>4</sup> The French phrase is "Haut Commissariat du Plan".



4) Fiscal Policy and Taxation: Fiscal policy and taxation are seen as instruments which the state can use to guide the economy. Fiscal measures should be coordinated with general economic and social policy.

5) Forest Resources: The Programme recommends careful exploitation of forest resources and the development of woodland parks and playgrounds.

6) Agriculture: The Programme notes the retarded state of Quebec agriculture and the mass exodus from the farms. More government aid must be given to farmers and additional research done on farm problems.

7) Fisheries: The Programme regrets the low productivity of the fishing industry. Fishing fleets and packing centres must be modernized and marketing techniques improved. Fishermen require additional technical training.

8) Mines: The Programme deplores the uncontrolled mining adventures of past years and recommends an orderly and regular exploitation of mines. An inventory of mineral resources should be prepared.

9) Tourist Industry: A Department of Tourism is recommended to assure the good reception of visitors to Quebec.



10 & 11) Energy and Water Resources: It is proposed that Hydro-Quebec be made responsible for the development of all energy resources in Quebec. A Water Control Board should be created to develop better waste disposal systems and water purification processes.

12 & 13) Telecommunications and Public Utilities: The federal jurisdiction over communications and public utilities should be transferred to Quebec. Quebec radio and television networks are recommended, as is the gradual nationalization of most public utilities.

14) Transportation: The Programme proposes a unified railway system, an airline, (Air Quebec), and a Civil Aviation Control Board.

15) Highways: Regretting the unplanned and capricious development in the past, the Programme recommends five year plans for highway construction and suggests that these plans be closely coordinated with regional development policies.

16) Waterways and Ports: A Quebec Waterways Authority is proposed to assume responsibility over waterways presently under federal jurisdiction. It is recommended that the St. Lawrence Seaway be kept open on a year round basis.





Socio-Cultural Affairs: The Programme claims that planning must be general to be effective. Economic policies are to be accompanied by social, cultural, and political recommendations. Central to the social policy of the RIN is the notion of equal opportunities. Education and culture must not be restricted to the wealthy, but accessible to all. Social security and assistance, housing, the administration of justice, and labour conditions are other key areas for reform.

In the field of education, French language schooling must be made free at all levels. Religious instruction should be available to those who desire it. With universities established in all major regions of Quebec, scientific training is to be stressed.

As the amount of leisure time grows, it becomes particularly important that Quebeckers have access to cultural facilities. More libraries, museums, theatres, and cinemas should be opened to the population. Particular efforts are needed to strengthen the French culture in Quebec. The mass media should be controlled by the Quebec Government in the interests of the people. In the domain of recreational activities, camping grounds and parks are required. Physical education is of major importance.

The Programme proposes that, in the administration of criminal law, the principles of the defence of society



and the rehabilitation of the individual replace the notion of punishment. Capital punishment should be abolished. The Civil Law Code should be amended to recognize the full equality of women before the law and also the possibility of civil marriages.

The Programme points out that, with the phenomena of industrialization, there are many risks to the individual. Social security should be extended to provide protection to new categories of persons in the modern urban setting. Direct social assistance to indigent persons is also foreseen. Social security and assistance could be administered by a special government department.

With regard to labour, the Programme recognizes the right of all men to work and a free choice of work, to equal pay for equal work, and to collective bargaining associations. All workers, including civil servants, deserve the right to strike. Because Quebec's work laws are scattered throughout many pieces of legislation, a single unified work code should be prepared.

The Programme assumes that there is a fundamental human right to a home and recommends a public policy of aid to housing. Aid to housing, however, is no replacement for global policies of town planning and urban renewal.



Political Affairs: The Programme takes a pessimistic view of the political situation in Quebec. The Government has become detached from the people and no longer represents them. From an administrative viewpoint, Quebec is in a chaotic state. The existence of ninety-five counties, fourteen economic regions, and fifty-five schooling districts based on different areas renders coordinated action difficult.

The Programme proposes radical reforms in local government. About a dozen regions should be set up, each with a capital city and regional government. There should be decentralization towards these regions. This would allow the private citizen to participate in local government and also encourage planning efficiency.

The new Quebec Parliament would be composed of a National Assembly and an Economic and Social Council. The National Assembly would be elected on a combined basis of the existing single constituency plurality vote system and proportional representation. The Economic and Social Council, with limited legislative powers, would represent certain economic and social groups in the population.

The Programme does not describe in detail the period of transition leading to independence. However, institutions of the old regime would remain for some time after the election of a RIN government because of the need to assure a smooth transfer of power.





With independence, two new super-departments of government are to be set up: the Department of the Interior and the Department of Foreign Affairs. The first is to coordinate all internal policy, the second all foreign policy. The Department of the Interior would combine several agencies and have responsibility for the planning services.

The Department of Foreign Affairs would establish a network of diplomatic relations for Quebec. In foreign policy, as a member of the United Nations, Quebec would recognize the freedom and independence of all peoples, and oppose imperialism and colonialism. Avoiding any engagement with military blocs, Quebec would work for disarmament and an effective international police force. 2% of the gross national income would be devoted to aid to developing countries. Quebec would refuse to accept the Privy Council decision fixing the Quebec-Newfoundland boundary. All of Labrador belonged to Quebec.

Final Recommendation of the Programme: It is observed that certain recommendations could be implemented by the Quebec Government without any change in the federal system. However, this would mean piecemeal reform and would be quite unsuccessful. The Programme is seen as a well planned series of measures designed to be implemented together in a coordinated way. To do this Quebec must have full political



powers.<sup>5</sup> In fact, independence is at the centre of the whole programme. It is a necessary corollary. The Programme ends with the recommendation of Quebec independence and the establishment of a republic:

Toute notre action, tout notre programme n'ont de sens que s'ils débouchent sur l'indépendance du Québec ..... un gouvernement RIN réalisera l'indépendance totale du Québec et proclamera la République.<sup>6</sup>

Conclusion and Review: The Programme is divided into economic, socio-cultural, and political sections, which are in turn broken down into sub-sections. In each sub-section, there is an analytical sketch of a given situation. The status quo is almost always depicted as very bad, and a series of recommendations are then made. The recommendations usually favour active intervention by the Government of Quebec and the retreat of the Federal Government or private corporations. The Programme stresses the essential unity of the recommendations and the need for the complete implementation of the proposals. Great stress is placed on government planning.

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<sup>5</sup> The Political Programme reads at page 75: La planification que nous proposons est nécessairement globale et elle ne donnera ses résultats que si elle est appliquée globalement. C'est pourquoi l'indépendance politique devient essentielle à notre action car seule elle nous rendra la plénitude des pouvoirs de planification que doit détenir tout état.

<sup>6</sup> 1965 Political Programme, page 75.



## V MEMBERSHIP

### The Leadership

Since relatively little material was available on the social characteristics of the membership at large, a small sample of RIN leaders was chosen for intensive analysis. Sixteen leaders were selected on the following basis: seven Executive members, five members of central committees, two regional leaders, and two members with influence for other reasons.

The age, sex, and mother tongue of the leaders is shown in Table I (page 66). The ages ranged from 32 to 48, with the average age 38.5. All leaders were men and French speaking.

The birthplace and a description of parents is shown in Table 2 (page 67). Nine leaders were born in Montreal. All mothers and all but two fathers were French Canadians. Six fathers were businessmen and four professionals.

A description of the family life and religion is given in Table 3 (page 68). Eleven of the leaders were married and had an average of over three children each. All were brought up as Roman Catholics, but six had become agnostics.

Table 4 (page 69) deals with education. Ten leaders took their classical course; only one did not finish secondary school. Eleven completed a university degree.



Table I: Age, Sex, and Mother Tongue of Leaders

1. Age<sup>1</sup> (Reference Group - 16)

Highest Age	...	48
Lowest Age	...	32
Average Age	...	38.5

2. Sex

Male	...	16
Total	...	16

3. Mother Tongue

French	...	16
Total	...	16

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<sup>1</sup> Age figures are close approximations in 50% of cases.  
The reference group is the 16 selected members.





Table 2: Birthplace and Parents of Leaders

1. Birthplace

Montreal	9
Quebec	1
Province <sup>1</sup>	3
Ottawa	1
U.S.A.	1
Unknown	1
TOTAL	16

2. Nationality of Father

French Canadian	14
French	1
Belgian	1
TOTAL	16

3. Nationality of Mother

French Canadian	16
TOTAL	16

4. Occupation of Father

Businessman <sup>2</sup>	6
Professional	4
Civil Servant <sup>3</sup>	2
Unknown	4
TOTAL	16

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<sup>1</sup> This category includes all of the Province of Quebec except the cities of Montreal and Quebec.

<sup>2</sup> This category includes both owners of small businesses and employees of large corporations.

<sup>3</sup> This category refers to federal and to municipal civil servants.



Table 3: Family Life and Religion of Leaders

1. Marital Status

Married	11
Single	4
Unknown <sup>1</sup>	1
TOTAL	16

2. Children (Reference Group - 10)<sup>2</sup>

Highest Number	8
Lowest Number	0
Average Number	3.4

3. Religious Training

Roman Catholic	16
TOTAL	16

4. Religious Beliefs

Practising Catholic	2
Agnostic	6
Unknown	8
TOTAL	16

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<sup>1</sup> Presumed single.

<sup>2</sup> The reference group here is ten of the eleven married leaders. The other leader had a family also, but the number of children was not known.



Table 4: Education of Leaders

1. <u>Secondary School and College</u>	
classical course	10
scientific course	2
commercial course	1
"lycée français" <sup>1</sup>	1
unfinished secondary school	1
unknown	1
TOTAL	16
2. <u>University Studies</u>	
university course completed	11
university attended but not completed	2
no university studies	2
unknown	1
TOTAL	16
3. <u>Universities Attended</u> <sup>2</sup> (Reference Group - 13)	
Montréal	10
McGill	4
Laval	1
Columbia	1
California	1
TOTAL	17
4. <u>Area of Studies</u> <sup>3</sup> (Reference Group - 13)	
Law	5
Letters	3
Applied Sciences	2
Natural Sciences	2
Medicine	2
Commerce	1
Social Sciences	1
TOTAL	16

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<sup>1</sup> Collège Stanislas, Montréal.

<sup>2</sup> The Reference Group here is the thirteen leaders who attended university; four leaders studied at two universities.

<sup>3</sup> Three leaders studied in two areas.





The universities attended were especially the University of Montreal and McGill, and the subjects most often studied were Law, Letters, Applied and Natural Sciences, and Medicine.

Occupations and employment are treated in Tables 5 and 6, (pages 71-72). Three leaders were journalists, three businessmen, two lawyers, and two public relations specialists. The leaders had spent an average of 8.7 years in their present occupations and 3.4 years with their present employer. Seven were employed by private or professional businesses. Six had served in the Canadian Armed Forces and five had been in the Federal Civil Service.<sup>1</sup>

Table 7 (page 73) gives the place of residence of the leaders. All except two were Montrealers. Degree of contact with English Canada is shown in Table 8 (page 74). Eight of the leaders had a high degree of contact with English Canada.

Participation in the RIN is dealt with in Table 9 (page 76). The leaders had been on average members for 3.4 years and devoted about 1.3 days per week to the RIN.

A review of Tables 1-9 indicates that the leaders were men in their late thirties or early forties. Montrealers both by origin and present residence, they were married with about

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<sup>1</sup> Nine leaders had served in either the armed forces or the civil service of Canada, and two had been in both the armed forces and the civil service.



Table 5: Occupation of Leaders

1. Present Occupation

Journalist	3
Businessman	3
Public Relations	2
Lawyer	2
Various Professional	4
Stevedore	1
RIN leader	1
TOTAL	16

2. Time in Present Occupation (Years)<sup>1</sup>

Highest	18
Lowest	.25
Average	8.7

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<sup>1</sup> The reference group here is nine out of the sixteen leaders (56.25%); information is based on estimates and is approximate.



Table 6: Employment of Leaders

1. Present Employer

Private or Professional Business	7
Newspaper or Magazine	3
Large Corporation <sup>1</sup>	2
Association générale des étudiants de l'Université de Montréal	1
Union	1
Université de Montréal	1
RIN	1
Total	16

2. Time with Present Employer (Years)<sup>1</sup>

Highest	10
Lowest	.25
Average	3.4

3. Former Employers<sup>2</sup>

Canadian Armed Services	6
Federal Civil Service	5
Radio-Canada	2
Total for Public Service of Canada	13
Large Private Corporations	3

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<sup>1</sup> The reference group here is 7 out of 16 leaders (43.75%); information is based on estimates and is approximate.

<sup>2</sup> The reference group here is 11 of the 16 leaders (68.75%) with known former employers. Two leaders had one former employer, while nine others had two or three former employers.



Table 7: Residence of Leaders

1 Residence by Area

Montreal	14
Quebec	1
Province <sup>1</sup>	1
TOTAL	16

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<sup>1</sup> Province of Quebec other than the cities of Montreal and Quebec.





Table 8: Contact of Leaders with English Canada

1. Contact with English Canada

High <sup>1</sup>	8
Medium <sup>2</sup>	1
Low <sup>3</sup>	5
Unknown	2
TOTAL	16

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<sup>1</sup> Criteria for "High" contact.

1. At least one year or the equivalent spent in an environment which is totally or predominantly English-Canadian.
2. An excellent knowledge of the English language.

<sup>2</sup> Criteria for "Medium" contact.

1. A period of some duration but less than one year spent in an environment which is totally or predominantly English-Canadian.
2. A good knowledge of the English language.

<sup>3</sup> Criteria for "Low" contact.

1. No prolonged stay in English Canada.
2. The knowledge of English may be poor.



three children. Though brought up as Roman Catholics, they often abandoned their religion. After studies at a classical college and the University of Montreal or McGill, they embarked upon careers in a particular profession, the world of business, or the federal civil service. Some found a stable employment while others moved from one position to another. None remained in the federal civil service. Many had considerable contact with English Canada and possessed a good knowledge of the English language.

### The Membership

Little information on the social characteristics of the membership at large was available. It was necessary to rely on estimates by RIN leaders.

In 1965, the membership probably stood at about 6,000. Of this number, however, many were inactive and failed to renew their membership cards.

Table 10 (page 77) gives the results of an internal RIN study of membership age. The average age in July 1964 was 31 years. 41.7% of members were between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine. The membership at large was thus younger than the leaders whose average age was 38.5 years.

Women seemed to represent only a small proportion, perhaps 10%, of the total official membership. However, many wives not officially members worked alongside their husbands. Only the very unusual member had a mother tongue other than French. A few members were of non-French Canadian origins,



Table 9: RIN Participation of Leaders

1. Time in Years as Member of the RIN<sup>1</sup>

Highest <sup>2</sup>	5.0
Lowest <sup>3</sup>	0.2
Average	3.4

2. Days per Week Devoted to the RIN<sup>4</sup>

Highest	6.0
Lowest	0.5
Average	1.3

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<sup>1</sup> The reference group is all 16 selected members.

<sup>2</sup> A founding member of the RIN.

<sup>3</sup> The lowest time refers to a former member recently returned to the RIN.

<sup>4</sup> These figures are based on liberal approximations in most cases. The Reference Group is all 16 members.





Table 10: RIN Internal Study of Membership Age

R. I. N.RASSEMBLEMENT POUR L'INDEPENDANCE NATIONALE

Voici un tableau comparatif de la répartition des membres du RIN par groupes d'âges.

	<u>Montréal</u>	<u>Québec</u>	<u>Province<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>National<sup>2</sup></u>
<u>Moins de 20 ans</u>	11.1%	8.4%	9.2%	10 %
<u>de 20 à 29 ans</u>	46	33.6%	43.5%	41.7%
<u>de 30 à 39 ans</u>	25.4%	27.4%	22.8%	25.5%
<u>40 ans et plus</u>	17.5%	30.6%	24.5%	22.8%

L'âge moyen des membres du R.I.N. est de 31 ans.

Travail préparé par le secrétariat national du parti du RIN.

Juillet 1964

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<sup>1</sup> Includes the Province of Quebec excepting the cities of Montreal and Quebec.

<sup>2</sup> Refers to all of Quebec.



but these had adopted French as their first language.

About one half of all members were residents of Montreal. The other half lived in Quebec City, Ottawa-Hull, the Richelieu area, the Eastern Townships, the Laurentian Mountain district, the Region of the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean, and certain other parts of Quebec.

Many members, and especially the active ones, were professionals by occupation. Others were students, private businessmen, civil servants and public employees. Certain skilled and unskilled labourers were also members.



## VI: PERSONAL HISTORIES

### Six Case Histories

Six case histories illustrate some of the characteristic experiences of the RIN members. Of particular interest are the ways and means by which the members came to believe in independence. Certain life experiences are clearly important in this regard.

Case I - Monsieur "A": Monsieur "A" is a Montreal businessman, thirty-seven years of age. He is married and has one child. He has been a member of the RIN for almost four years.

"A" was born and raised in Montreal, where his father was a successful businessman. However, while "A" was still in his classical course, the family moved to Ottawa. "A" transferred to the University of Ottawa in the middle of the year. He entered a class which was predominantly English-speaking. Though there were other French Canadians in the class, they were from Ontario and bilingual. With a very poor knowledge of English, "A" was handicaped both in class and in social life. He completed his year at the University of Ottawa, but transferred the next year to the Collège St-Alexandre near Hull.



"A" also had difficulties at the Collège St-Alexandre. The discipline at the college, where he was a boarder, was extremely strict. Owing to the confused previous year at Ottawa, he failed his first year at the College. Nevertheless, "A" did successfully complete his classical course at St-Alexandre, and from there he went to the University of Montreal, where he studied at the Faculty of Arts. While at the University, "A" enrolled in the Navy C.O.T.C. He served on a destroyer for one summer and on an aircraft carrier for another. He learned a good deal from his Navy experiences, but he felt out of place because the Navy traditions and surroundings were foreign to him. Upon completion of the university course, he refused a naval officer's commission.

After finishing at the University of Montreal, "A" worked in industry and commerce. He studied in Paris for a while. He worked in Toronto to broaden his experience. Finally, he took a permanent position at the Montreal head office of a large Canadian company. One of the few French Canadian employees, "A" worked hard and did well. He came to know all of the head office employees, including the President and senior officers, all of whom were English Canadians. However, it appeared difficult for a French Canadian to rise above a certain level. Three or four of his French-speaking colleagues left for good positions elsewhere.





The President and senior officers showed a shocking misunderstanding of French Canada. For some time, "A" continued with the company, hoping to succeed despite difficulties. Finally, he too left, feeling that there was no place for a French Canadian in the company.

While at the company, "A" stayed with a friend who had become a separatist. Together they had long discussions on politics. Even after his marriage, "A" continued to see this friend, but he held back from endorsing separatism, feeling that it was not practical. "A's" father, for whom he had great respect, opposed Quebec independence for economic reasons. Finally, in April 1961, "A" attended the Salle de Gésu public meeting of the RIN. There his final reservations dissolved. He became a member and gradually assumed more and more duties at the RIN.

Case 2 - Monsieur "B": A public relations specialist living in Montreal, Monsieur "B" is thirty-seven years old and is married. He has been a member of the RIN from the very beginning.

"B" was born and raised in Montreal. His father was a businessman from France and his mother a French Canadian. "B" was sent to the Collège Stanislas, and later he went to McGill. As a youth, "B" had little interest in French Canada. He felt more French than Canadian. At McGill, "B" was



accepted as French. After three years at McGill, he left for the University of Montreal, where he completed a MA in linguistics.

After his studies "B" worked in Ottawa as a translator in Parliament. There, for the first time, he became interested in politics, and he noted with a sense of shock the weak position of the French Canadians. He began to feel a strong personal need for a national identity. During his leaves, he travelled abroad. On returning from France on one occasion, "B" felt that he could no longer stay in Ottawa, which he had come to dislike so strongly. Realizing that he could be at home only in Quebec, he left his position in Parliament for employment in Montreal. Soon after coming back to Montreal, he began to work for Quebec independence.

Case 3 - Monsieur "C": Monsieur "C" is a Montreal architect. Thirty-three years old and married with a family, he has been a member of the RIN for four years.

"C" was born in a poor region of the Province of Quebec. Since his parents were wealthy, he was able to go to Montreal for an education. He attended Mont St-Louis College and then studied architecture at the University of Montreal. At college, he showed little interest in politics, but later in university he followed the writings of Pelletier and Trudeau, and opposed the Duplessis régime. His feeling



that radical reforms were needed in Quebec was reinforced by travels to other parts of Canada. He was particularly upset by the poverty of his own home region, to which he returned for a time after his university studies. The founding of the RIN in 1960-1 provided "C" with the answer which he had been seeking. He joined the movement in 1961 and soon became an active member.

Case 4 - Mme "D": Mme "D" is a Montreal housewife and mother of three young children. She is an active member and works alongside her husband in the RIN.

Mme "D" was born and raised in Montreal. Her father was a hard working postal clerk and there were several children in the family. In her youth, Mme "D" had little contact with English Canadians. They were the rich people who lived in the mansions of Outremont and Westmount.

On completing a commercial course, Mme "D" went to work at the Red Cross. There she noted that English Canadians occupied the senior posts and the French Canadian the junior ones. She observed how much the English language dominated the French. She was told, as she went shopping in the big stores of downtown Montreal, - "Sorry, I don't speak French".

Mme "D" disliked the English. French and English could not be friends as long as inequality existed. Once Quebec was independent, things would be different. She





joined the RIN in 1962 shortly after her husband. Mme "D" and her husband were giving up the cinema, the theatre, and other good things to work for independence.

Case 5 - Monsieur "E": Monsieur "E" is a young Montreal professor of social science. A bachelor, he has been a member of the RIN since 1963.

Born in Montreal, "E" was the son of a railroad employee. When "E" was still young, the family was moved to a small eastern Ontario town which was mostly English-speaking. There "E" and his brothers and sisters grew up in a bilingual, small-town environment.

After "E" left for college and university in Montreal, he returned upon occasion to his home town in Ontario. There he was struck by the low level of French culture. Even with his father he had to speak slowly if he wished to be understood in French. His nephews and nieces spoke neither French nor English, but a bad mixture of the two. On the other hand, the branch of the family which returned to Montreal spoke much better French.

"E" felt that he had experienced personally the waning of French culture in Ontario, and these experiences among others led him to opt for Quebec independence.



Case 6 - Monsieur "F": Monsieur "F" is a Montreal journalist, thirty-five years of age, and an active member of the RIN. He is married and has children.

A native of Ontario, "F" received most of his education in Ottawa schools and colleges, but he studied law at the University of Montreal. Later, he worked in Ottawa for the Federal Government.

It was not until "F" moved to Montreal on a permanent basis that he became convinced of the need for separation. Living and working in Montreal, he was struck by the preferred place of the English language in Montreal. He was constantly being told to speak in English. He asked in frustration: "N'y a-t-il pas un seul coin de cette terre d'Amérique où je peux parler ma propre langue?"



VII SPLITSSplits

During the first five years of its existence, the RIN suffered acutely from two internal divisions. The most serious was the Chaput Split of 1962-3. On this occasion, the whole movement broke into two, and the RIN barely survived as a recognizable grouping. A second split occurred in the summer of 1964 when seven regional leaders left the RIN to found a new movement. These two splits require study because they involved considerable losses in personnel and had lasting effects on the RIN.

One other split is noteworthy - the Jacques-Cartier Split of 1965. This split took place only in a small Montreal grouping, but it had wider implications since the point in question was the participation of an English Canadian in the RIN.

The Chaput Split: A bitter controversy broke out in the movement in the fall and winter of 1962-3. Debate centered around the person of the President, Marcel Chaput.

Chaput had been a founding member of the RIN and for long a leader of separatists in Ottawa and Hull. Well-educated and dynamic, he was well known as a result of his quarrel with the Defence Research Board, where he had been a



research chemist. Elected President in October, 1961, he came to the RIN on a full-time basis in December. A good orator, he launched into a Quebec-wide campaign to win new members and public support.

Although Chaput had been elected unanimously, opposition grew up inside the movement. At the basis of this opposition was perhaps a feeling against the Chaput style of leadership. It appeared that Chaput acted in an independent and impulsive fashion, and that he failed to consult regularly with the other members of the Executive Committee. He came to be resented in many quarters.

Many of Chaput's policies were regarded as questionable. During 1962, Chaput became convinced that the RIN should become a political party and contest the forthcoming provincial elections. He prepared to run as a separatist candidate in a Montreal riding. However, many members felt electoral activity was premature.

There was also the question of finances. During 1961-2, the financial position of the RIN deteriorated. Large debts were accumulating. Chaput justified the expenses, saying that they were necessary in order to present a good public image. Risks had to be taken if the RIN were to succeed. Many members, led by Pierre Renaud, objected strongly to extravagances and policies of living beyond means.





There were differences on general organization. Chaput neglected certain organizational problems which seemed very important to others. His great interest was in direct political action, publicity, and electoralism.

Finally, there was the political programme. For many members, the short general statement adopted at the Congress of June, 1962, appeared altogether insufficient and there were strong demands for a new and better programme.

The dénouement came at the Congress of October, 1962. A political programme was adopted. Stringent measures of economy were introduced and a new system of finances was set up. It was decided that the RIN should not become a political party before 18 months had elapsed.

These resolutions, particularly the last, were very unfavourable to Marcel Chaput. Chaput had fought to make the RIN a political party. Even more serious was the election of Guy Pouliot to the presidency, in the place of Chaput. Chaput was bitterly disappointed and refused to accept the office of either Vice-President or of Honorary President. He retained only his old position of Permanent Director.

Soon after the Congress, the new Executive proclaimed that all work had to be voluntary and stopped all salaries, including the salary which Chaput had been receiving. This action pushed Chaput to a final break. In December 1962, he



abandoned the RIN and set up a new movement, the Parti Républicain du Québec. He received the support of a great many of his friends and followers in the RIN. However, the PRQ was viewed with intense hostility by the new Executive, and, in January 1963, the Central Council formally expelled Marcel Chaput and all RIN members who were associated with the PRQ.

The break between Chaput and the new leaders caused tremendous consternation in the ranks of the RIN. Chaput had been the President and a dominant person in the movement. Now he was founding an outside party. Entire sections left the RIN to join the PRQ. Others divided, half of the members remaining with the RIN, half leaving for the new movement. Many in the confusion did not wish to work for either party, preferring to await the outcome of the quarrels. Some members remained loyal to the new leadership of the RIN. However, for those who did remain in the RIN, there was an atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty which was to plague them for several months. It was only in the spring and summer of 1963 that the RIN began to re-emerge with new energies and restored confidence.

The Quebec Split: The Quebec Split took place during the summer of 1964 when a group of regional leaders left to form a new movement, the Regroupement National. The Quebec schism arose in part from a series of disagreements between



several regional leaders and the National Executive. Two regional leaders in particular were involved - Jean Miville-Deschêne and Jean Garon, who led powerful RIN sections in Quebec City and the Lower St. Lawrence Region. Deschêne and Garon came into conflict with the National Executive when they demanded recognition of a special status for their groupings within the RIN.

A second source of tension came from ideological differences. Deschêne and Garon represented conservative elements in the RIN. They were supported by René Jutras, the conservative and Catholic President of the Bois-Francs regional grouping. The Jutras - Garon - Deschêne faction was particularly hostile to Pierre Bourgault, who appeared to be the leader of a socialist and anti-clerical wing of the RIN.

The two groups clashed openly at the National Congress in Quebec City on May 30 and 31, 1964. The struggle centered around the election by the delegates of the new President. The conservatives supported the reelection of Guy Pouliot. The more radical delegates, especially those from Montreal, were backing Bourgault. Feelings ran high. Deschêne and Garon openly attacked Bourgault. However, Bourgault's supporters were in the majority and Bourgault was elected President with 125 votes to 85 for Pouliot.

Soon after the Congress, there was a meeting of the Central Council. The elections were reviewed and a vote of





censure was passed against Deschêne, who was alleged to have used certain doubtful methods during the campaign against Bourgault. Deschêne and Garon, both Council members, protested strongly. Deschêne refused to admit any blame in the affair. Finally, the Council resorted to the extreme measure of expelling Deschêne from the RIN.

As the schism grew deeper during the summer of 1964, several of the regional leaders who had supported Deschêne met together to discuss a common policy toward the central Executive. The discussions soon turned to the possibility of complete separation and the formation of a new movement. Agreement was finally reached on separation, and on August 29, 1964, seven regional leaders formally resigned from the RIN. Two weeks later they founded a new movement, the Regroupement National.

The Quebec split remained regional in nature. Relatively few sections left to join the RN. However, the RIN was weakened considerably in Quebec City and certain outlying parts of the Province. An additional result of the split was that the RIN moved further towards "leftist" and "secular" positions.

The Jacques-Cartier Split: In the spring of 1964, Mr. "X" joined the RIN to become perhaps the only English Canadian in the movement. A man of forty-five years of age and unmarried, "X" had had a varied career. Born in Toronto,



he left home while still young to work in labour movements. He became involved in the CCF and the American Socialist Party. Later, "X" entered the fields of journalism and advertising. He settled in the Province of Quebec in the early '50s and learned French. He followed the Cité Libre editorials and supported the NDP when it was founded. However, "X's" interest in utopian socialism and social justice gradually led him to a Quebec Nationalist position. He finally rejected the NDP because of its federalist stand, and in 1964 he joined the RIN.

"X" became a member of the RIN section in Jacques-Cartier County in western Montreal. In March 1965, at the annual County Congress, he was nominated for the County Presidency. He declined, feeling that the President should be a French Canadian. However, he was elected one of the two Vice-Presidents.

After the County Congress, "X" advocated a reorganization of the Jacques-Cartier grouping, but the new President and other Vice-President were not interested. Then "X" himself took the initiative. Suddenly, an anti-"X" movement appeared among the members. The movement began with a woman who had long been active with the RIN in Jacques-Cartier. Shocked by the election of an English Canadian to the office of Vice-President, she began a telephone campaign to force "X" to resign. A strong feeling grew up that he should resign. On the other hand, "X's" friends announced that they were standing



by him. A serious division appeared. Finally, "X" decided to resign from his position of Vice-President. He submitted his resignation on May 1, 1965, saying that he wished to avoid quarrels inside the RIN.

Many influential members were shocked by what had happened. The National Executive were quick to express their regrets to "X". André d'Allemagne addressed a meeting of Jacques-Cartier members on May 6, 1965, six days after "X's" resignation. D'Allemagne told the members that they had acted wrongly. Any member of the RIN had the right to hold any position. This was made clear in the Constitution and it was only right that this should be so.

Since "X" had had difficulties at the County level, the National Executive invited him to work at the National Secretariat. Both André d'Allemagne and Pierre Bourgault met with him during the summer months of 1965. One possibility was that he set up a special English-speaking section on a temporary basis. Such a section could aid future English-speaking members to adapt to the movement. The section would be dissolved when the English-speaking members achieved a satisfactory degree of integration. A second possibility was that "X" become a RIN specialist on Quebec minorities. A third was that he work on publicity. "X" was pleased with the attitude of Bourgault and d'Allemagne and planned to work at the RIN during 1965-6.



The Jacques-Cartier split remained essentially a local issue. It never went beyond the County organization, with the reservation that the central leaders became interested in the outcome. However, the split did raise the question of the place of non-French Canadians in the movement.





## VIII ACTIVE POLITICS

### General

During 1963-4 and 1964-5, the RIN engaged in direct political action. There were several demonstrations and marches, of which two of the largest are reviewed here - the Queen's Visit of October 1964 and the funeral of Gilles Legault in April 1964. There were other non-violent actions, notably the Honey Dew sit-in of July, 1965. After May, 1965, the RIN became involved in electoral activity, hoping to present candidates to contest the provincial elections planned for 1966.

Political actions raised the question of relations with other movements. In organizing public protest meetings, RIN members had to work in collaboration with other interested groups.

The Queen's Visit: Opposing the Queen's visit from the time of its announcement, the RIN leaders planned meetings of protest. Because of the atmosphere of crisis and the danger of disorders, it was decided to hold demonstrations before the Queen's arrival and to boycott the visit itself.

A large meeting and march in Quebec City were planned for October 7, 1964. The President and Vice-President, Pierre Bourgault and Guy Pouliot, undertook to organize the affair. The details were kept strictly secret. This was to



frustrate police interference and also permit a control over the crowds which, not knowing the demonstration plans, would be more attentive to instructions when they came.

Most of the leaders of the RIN arrived to take part in the protest meeting. With Marc Girard as chairman, Pierre Bourgault and Guy Pouliot made speeches. The mood was one of greatest excitement. Many plain clothes police were among the 500 persons present.

The march began immediately after the meeting. Instructions were given to observe complete silence and avoid any incidents whatsoever. The destination was known only to the RIN officers who would be leading the march. . .

In accordance with instructions, the crowd moved into Carillon Street. However, the leaders had barely advanced a hundred feet when some policemen suddenly seized Pierre Bourgault and carried him off into a garage at one side of the street. There was consternation in the crowd. The march stopped. Marc Girard, speaking from the top of a car, asked the marchers to sit down. A large part of the crowd obeyed, despite a fine rain.

Inside the garage, the police informed Bourgault that he could not go on with the march. If he continued the police would break up the march by violent means and he himself would be arrested. Speaking to Police Chief Roger Lemire on



the phone, Bourgault made a plea for a sit-down protest of one hour. Permission was refused. The orders disallowing the demonstration had come from senior authorities. Outside, the crowd was becoming impatient.

Following the conversations with the police, Bourgault addressed the crowd and asked them to disperse. He told them that to continue would mean violence. He observed that the march had already succeeded. Journalists and observers from all over the world would report what had happened in Quebec.

The crowd started to break up after Bourgault's speech. The RIN officers mixed with the crowd, encouraging them to go home. Some small groups tried to continue the demonstration but they were unsuccessful.

Bourgault and several associates left Quebec Friday night. The official policy was to boycott the Queen. Nevertheless, some members remained to observe the course of the events and on Saturday and Sunday, there were incidents in which members were implicated. For example, Pierre Verdy made efforts to free Régie Chartrand, leader of the Chevaliers de l'Indépendance, who was being held in jail.

The Gilles Legault Funeral: On Easter Sunday, April 18, 1965, a young typewriter repairman named Gilles Legault took his own life while being held in Montreal's Bordeaux Jail. He had been charged with conspiracy to supply explosives for





the dynamiting of national monuments in the USA. There was evidence that Legault had been in a state of great nervous tension and he had already tried once to take his life, yet the authorities were reported to have taken no action to provide Legault with adequate psychiatric treatment.

The RIN was most indignant, and the Region of Montreal Executive determined to hold a demonstration. Gilles Legault had been a Montreal member of the RIN. Plans were laid to march behind the coffin from the Church to the cemetery. Pierre Bourgault agreed to give a speech at the cemetery.

Other groups of persons outside of the RIN, especially Parti Pris, were also interested in joining the march. An agreement was made that the RIN would be responsible for the march from the Church to the cemetery and that the other groups could conduct their separate demonstration after the march.

The RIN leaders hoped that the march would take place in absolute silence. However, many marchers, mostly from outside the RIN, were somewhat disorderly. When the march reached the cemetery, Pierre Bourgault gave a speech. Following the address from Bourgault, most RIN members dispersed, but other elements continued to demonstrate. Finally, the crowd went down to St. Catherine Street, where a near-riot occurred and a number of windows were broken.



The Honey Dew Sit-in: At the National Congress of May, 1965, Pierre Bourgault spoke of the need for direct action to improve the status of the French language in public places in Quebec. Techniques used in the civil rights struggles of the USA could be adopted. Sit-ins could be used against restaurants which refused to provide service in French.

In the weeks following the Congress, Maurice Leroux and other members of the Executive planned the first sit-in. The operation was to be tightly controlled in order to avoid incidents. Numbers were to be limited, and all participants were to be well-dressed. All were to be carefully briefed in advance. The restaurant would not be known in advance to any but those in charge of the operation. In this way, it would be possible to prevent outside elements, particularly police, from interfering. The sit-in would be scheduled during a busy lunch or supper hour, a time when the restaurant could normally expect a considerable business. The hope was that one sit-in would be enough to make a restaurant, and perhaps a whole chain of restaurants, change their policies with regard to the French language. If necessary, however, other sit-ins would be made.

With these considerations in mind, RIN members held their first sit-in on Tuesday evening, June 22, 1965. Some 35 persons arrived at the Honey Dew Restaurant on St. Catherine Street, near Metcalfe, about 5:30 p.m. They



ordered a coffee and, sitting down, read their copies of 1<sup>re</sup> Indépendance.

The sit-in proved very quiet. Some persons came in, but seeing the restaurant already full went out again. The restaurant staff, at first alarmed, soon relaxed. The police arrived outside the restaurant in fairly large numbers. There was a bomb scare a short distance away and Metcalfe Street was sealed off for a time. The sit-in was raised at 6:45 p.m. and the participants returned home without incident.

The RIN viewed the sit-in as a success. There had been no trouble, and the following day French signs appeared in the Honey Dew Restaurant. The Executive made plans for more sit-ins, but nothing further was done during 1965.

### Electoral Organization and Strategy

Despite the proclamation of March 1963 that the RIN was a political party, RIN members did little until 1965 to place their movement on electoral footing. However, in the spring of 1965, preparations were made for electoral action. Pierre Bourgault, in tours of the Province, talked about electoral organization. Following the National Congress in May, several prominent members announced their intentions to seek nominations as RIN candidates in the 1966 provincial elections.





During the spring and summer of 1965, the National Executive worked out an electoral strategy in detail. The RIN would recruit voluntary workers. The proposed electoral organization for the constituency groupings of the RIN is shown in Table 1 (page 102).

The candidate is in charge of the electoral organization in his constituency. Three or four regional chiefs work for the candidate; each chief supervises the electoral activities in a particular area of the constituency. Under the regional chiefs, there are poll officers who, in turn, have assistants.

Workers would be instructed to try to classify voters into categories of favourable, indifferent, or opposed to the RIN. Those firmly opposed could be neglected, and the favourable ones also could be put aside, though to a lesser extent. The real centre of attention for RIN workers would be the indifferent voters.

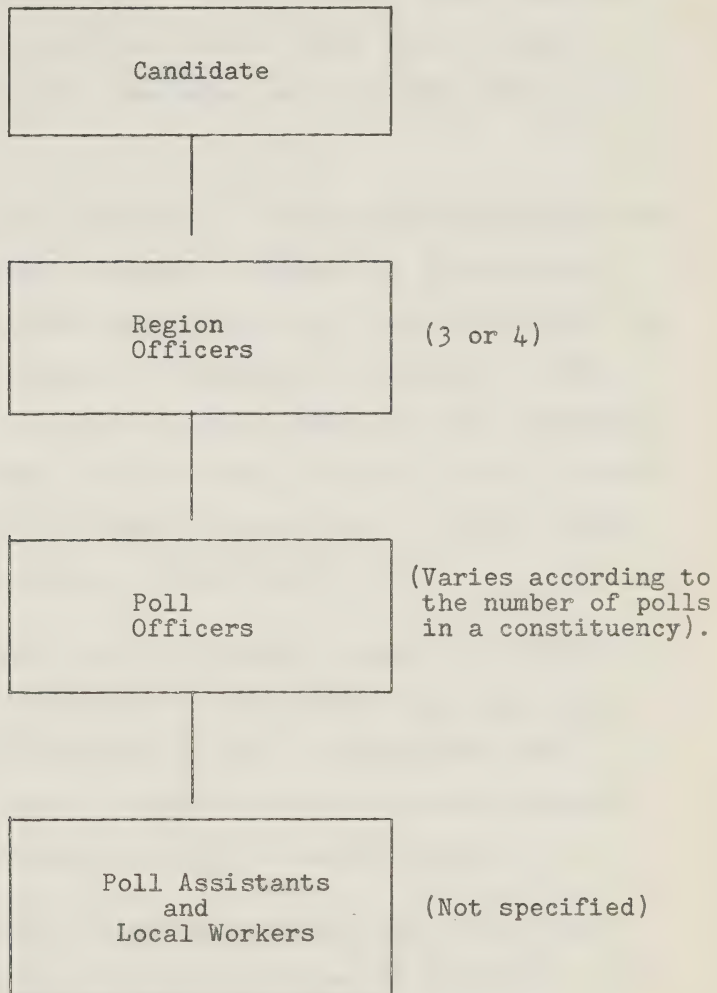
The National Executive hoped that, in beginning its electoral campaign early, the RIN could gain the initiative by setting up voluntary organizations which would run an effective grassroots campaign. Electoral work could begin in the summer of 1965 and steadily increase in tempo until the elections in 1966.

It would be necessary to spend \$2,000 for the electoral campaign in each county. This, with the voluntary organization,





Table 1: Proposed Constituency Organization





could have the same effect as \$100,000 spent by one of the old parties with their electoral machines. Each county would raise \$2,000 for its electoral fund. In certain counties, there might be no candidate. In such cases, these counties might collect electoral funds anyway which could be put at the disposal of the RIN candidates with the best chance of winning.

Publicity was important. The Executive suggested that post-cards and other literature be mailed to constituents, giving information about the RIN and its candidate as well as the name and phone number of the district organizer. Many notices could be given out by hand. Where possible, exterior signs and bill-boards could be used. In rural areas, friendly farmers might allow RIN signs on their land. The RIN slogan was chosen - "Québec-Notre Seule Patrie".

The Executive hoped to present as many candidates as possible to give the impression of a party which might win. It would be highly desirable to have a large total vote. It was thought that the RIN could win several hundred thousand votes and be a serious contender in twenty ridings.

The Executive officers recognized that their plans were grandiose and that the RIN, starting as it was with very little, might not be able to develop immediately the effective electoral organization which was hoped for. However, it was noted that separatists had never before seriously contested



Quebec elections. Even a poor showing, therefore, would represent a gain. The RIN would not be discouraged by a defeat at the polls in 1966.

A major problem would be to find good candidates. Prominent members had to be recruited. By the summer of 1965, seven members had expressed interest in seeking election as a RIN candidate:

Pierre Bourgault	....	Duplessis
Pierre Renaud	....	Montréal Mercier
Maurice Leroux	....	Verchères
Gilles Grenier	....	Bagot
Marc Girard	....	a Saguenay riding
André d'Allemagne	....	a Montreal riding
Rodrigue Guité	....	.....

Pierre Bourgault's candidature was official. A special RIN nominating convention was held in Sept Iles on June 27. Bourgault was nominated amid the applause of the delegates.

In order to get the electoral campaign under way, Bourgault and other leaders of the RIN planned to tour Quebec constituencies. Pierre Bourgault visited the Hull and Gatineau regions during the week of July 5. He stayed with local members, and several meetings were held. One meeting took place on the evening of July 7 in Hull. About thirty





persons attended. Pierre Bourgault, as the guest speaker, outlined the electoral strategy of the RIN. He explained how the proposed electoral organization could be set up in Hull. After the talk, there was a discussion period and coffee hour. A collection was taken for the RIN electoral fund for Hull.

### Relations with other Movements

RIN leaders regarded their party as the major "independentist" party. However, many RIN members had close contacts with outside groups, and there was some contact between separatist movements.

Parti Pris had fairly good relations with the RIN leadership. The Parti Pris editors and some RIN leaders found common ground in the writings of Jacques Berque, Franz Fanon and others. Pierre Bourgault in particular showed interest in Parti Pris and had even contributed at one point to the review. Parti Pris was widely read by RIN members, particularly students. However, for the very same reasons that Parti Pris was popular with some, it was unpopular with others. Some members regarded Parti Pris as leftist and extremist. There was a measure of cooperation between the two movements. Parti Pris members attended RIN meetings, and the movements held one or two joint demonstrations. On one occasion during 1964-5, a member of Parti Pris was



invited to a RIN Executive meeting to explain the position of his movement on certain matters. However, the exposé turned out to be controversial and the meeting ended in vigorous debate.

Relations with the Regroupement National remained bad.<sup>1</sup> The bitter feelings connected with the Quebec schism persisted in 1965, only slightly attenuated by time and separation. The RIN and the RN developed along different lines after 1964. Whereas the RIN moved further towards democratic socialism, the RN drifted towards a reaffirmation of older Quebec values. In general, the members of the RIN, especially those in Montreal, regarded the RN as small, conservative and of little importance.

The RIN opposed the violent methods of the "Front de Libération du Québec". Other means, democratic means, were available and were to be used. That was why the RIN had become a political party.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the RIN affirmed that the terrorists on their arrest had been badly mistreated. They were denied fundamental human rights, and the RIN was doing everything in its power to see that the FLQ

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<sup>1</sup> See pages 89-91 for a description of the Quebec Split of 1964.

<sup>2</sup> André d'Allemagne outlined the attitude of the RIN towards the FLQ and terrorism in a public speech on June 12, 1963. The text of this speech is reproduced in Appendix III.



prisoners received just treatment. The RIN provided some FLQ members with legal advice and, at one large rally on June 12, 1963, collected \$450 to help the defence of the accused.

The RIN had close relations with the Alliance Laurentienne during 1960-1 and 1961-2. The Alliance was the first of the neo-nationalist separatist movements, and a large number of the first members of the RIN had been members of the Alliance. The first two presidents, d'Allemagne and Chaput, were both acquaintances of Raymond Barbeau, the Alliance leader. Nevertheless, the founders of the RIN challenged the leadership of Barbeau and they sought to build a new movement.



## IX CONCLUSIONS

### The Members

During 1964-5, the formal membership of the RIN was large, but few members were really active. "C'est toujours les mêmes qui travaillent" was a remark sometimes heard. In fact, it was a small group which provided the leadership and, despite all difficulties, made speeches, organized meetings, held marches, prepared position papers, and drew up circulars. They did all kinds of work from the sophisticated to the trivial.

Work at the RIN involved real personal sacrifices. Careers were affected by the RIN connection. The RIN was often incompatible politically with other employment. Further, for reasons of time, members were forced upon occasion to neglect their professional or business work. RIN involvement left the active member with little free time to pursue personal and social interests, hobbies, and normal leisure activities. "Depuis quatre ans, je ne vais plus à la pêche" is a remark which illustrates this point. Financial sacrifices were large. Not only did RIN work bring in no income but it involved expenditures. It would seem that active participation at the RIN created difficulties in the personal lives of many members of the RIN.





The Movement

By 1965, the RIN was the largest of the modern separatist movements. It had achieved a high degree of internal organization. It published a newspaper and distributed a great deal of propaganda. It organized large public meetings and conducted demonstrations. There had been substantial RIN contributions to the development of separatist thought. There was little doubt that the RIN was able to exercise real influence on the Quebec political scene and that it had done much to familiarize the Quebec population with arguments in favour of Quebec independence.



Section III

The Regroupement National

by

Charles Barker

with the assistance of

Alfrédo Lévesque



## I INTRODUCTION

### Introduction

The Regroupement National had to be studied for two reasons. First, it was a provincial movement with much of its support coming from small regional centres in Quebec. Secondly, the ideology of the RN was conservative as well as nationalist. For an appreciation of the range of Quebec nationalist movements, it was necessary to consider the RN.

The study is based in the first place on seven interviews.<sup>1</sup> Six of the chosen interviewees were members of the Central Committee of the Regroupement National, and the seventh was an outside supporter. Additional information was obtained from two public meetings. The first was held in Montreal on March 24, 1965, under the auspices of the Club Fleur de Lys, and Dr. Jutras was the guest speaker. The second was a meeting in Quebec City on November 3, 1965.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The interview techniques were the same as for the RIN study. For a description of these techniques, see page 6.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IX.





Seven numbers of La Nation were analyzed,<sup>3</sup> and a study was made of Dr. Jutras' book, Québec Libre. Newspaper clippings were a further source of information.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The numbers analyzed were Vol. I, Nos. 1-6, 8. Vol. I, No. 7 was not available.

<sup>4</sup> Newspaper clippings were furnished by the Royal Commission press clipping service.



## II HISTORY

### The Founding of the Regroupement National

In August, 1964, seven regional leaders withdrew from the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale. Residents of Quebec City and certain smaller centres, they were dissatisfied with the Montreal orientation of the RIN. As Catholics and conservatives, they favoured a dominant place for the Church and a large measure of free enterprise, and opposed the concepts of laïcisme and socialism popular among many RIN leaders. Finally, they had poor personal relations with RIN executive leaders.

The split occurred following the Quebec Congress of the RIN in May, 1964.<sup>1</sup> The Congress elected Pierre Bourgault to the presidency of the movement despite the fierce opposition of the regional delegates. When, in the summer of 1964, the Central Council of the RIN expelled one of the Quebec organizers, Jean Miville-Deschêne, the alienation of the regional leaders became complete.

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<sup>1</sup> A more complete account of the Quebec split in the RIN can be found on pages 89-91.



The regional leaders met as a group to discuss the Deschêne Affair. René Jutras, an influential member of the group, denounced the RIN executive and advocated an open break. He related a series of unpleasant experiences which he had had in the movement. Jutras affirmed that the RIN was full of juvenile delinquents, Marxists, and extremists of all sorts. Furthermore, Deschêne had already been expelled; other expulsions would follow. After long debate, most members declared for a separation from the RIN. The seven who resigned from the movement on August 28, 1964, were René Jutras, Jean Garon, Marc-André Bédard, Paul Sabourin, François Lafrenière, Jean-Marc Béliveau, and Raymond Tremblay.

Under Jutras' direction, the group laid plans for a new party. Meetings were held late in August and early in September, 1964. Discussion was focussed on a manifesto to be prepared for the founding convention.

The founding convention of the Regroupement National took place in Quebec City on September 13, 1964. Announcing the formation of the new political party, thirteen committee<sup>2</sup> members made public their ten-point manifesto.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Jutras was chosen provisional president of the movement.

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<sup>2</sup> The seven who withdrew from the RIN on August 28 were joined by others. The founding members of the Regroupement National were René Jutras, Jean Garon, Marc-André Bédard, Paul Sabourin, François Lafrenière, Jean-Marc Béliveau, Jean Miville-Deschêne, Gabriel-M. Pelletier, Gérard Ouellet, Pierre Roy, Lucien Lessard, Georges Dumont and Gilles Morin.

<sup>3</sup> For the text of the Manifesto, see Appendix VIII.



Events of the Year 1964-5

The Regroupement National gained strength during the year 1964-5. Jutras undertook numerous speaking tours to make the movement better known. His tours took him frequently to centres near Victoriaville, but he also visited other cities and towns in more distant regions of Quebec. Others who undertook speaking trips were Jean Garon, Jean Miville-Deschêne, Jean-Marc Béliveau and Lucien Lessard. The RN founded its own monthly newspaper, La Nation, and eight editions of the paper were brought out in the course of the year. Several hundred copies of each edition were distributed. Television time was rented in some parts of the province. A permanent secretariat was opened in Quebec City.

The membership of the RN grew slowly and county organizations were formed in several regions. Membership applications were examined closely; only desirable candidates were accepted as members. Plans were made for a national congress in the fall of 1965, but the congress was postponed. On September 26, 1965, René Chaloult entered the RN and was appointed Vice-President.





### III ORGANIZATION

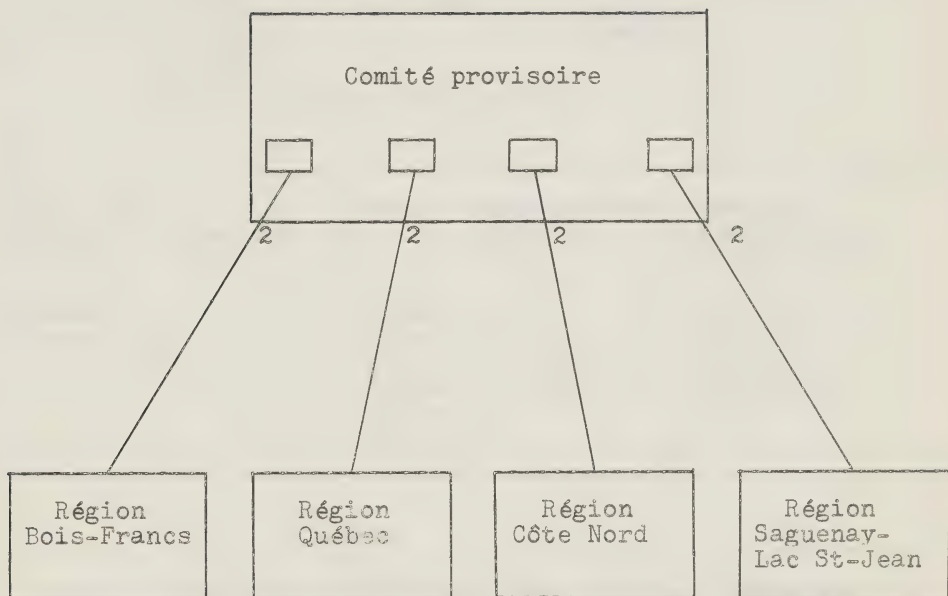
#### The Overview

As a new movement during 1964-5, the Regroupement National did not have well-defined structures. Meetings were held irregularly, in different places, and on a somewhat ad hoc basis. As the active membership was small, a few persons performed many tasks.

Table 1 (page 117) gives an outline of the organization of the RN. The chief organ was the Provisional Executive Committee. This committee was composed of some fifteen members and presided over by the President, René Jutras. There were also four regional organizations directed by men who were at the same time members of the Provisional Committee.

Table 2 (page 118) shows the principal activities of the seven members of the Provisional Committee who seemed to have the greatest influence. Jutras, as President of the movement and Chairman of the Committee, engaged in a variety of activities which included public meetings, political programmes, and the study of separatist theory. René Chaloult, the Vice-President, was primarily interested in nationalist theory and writings. Jean Garon was perhaps the most militant member. An untiring worker, he was selected as Chief Organizer. Jean Miville-Deschêne, Secretary-



TABLE I: Structures of the Regroupement National (1965)<sup>1</sup>


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<sup>1</sup> Writers' figure based on interviews with RN leaders.

<sup>2</sup> The Chief Organizers of the regions are also members of the Provisional Committee.



TABLE 2: Principal Members of the Provisional  
Committee and their Activities (1965)

<p>Jutras (Président)</p> <p>Public Meetings                      Policy Formation Political Programme              Journalism Theory                                  Television Lobbying</p>		
<p>Chaloult (Vice-Président)</p> <p>Theory Journalism</p>	<p>Garon (Organisateur- en-Chef)</p> <p>Organization Finance Public Meetings Private Meetings Theory Journalism</p>	<p>Deschène (Secrétaire- Trésorier)</p> <p>Finances Organization Theory Journalism</p>
<p>Lessard (Directeur du Journal)</p> <p>Journalism Organization</p>	<p>Béliveau (Directeur)</p> <p>Organization Public Meetings</p>	<p>Bernatchez (Directeur)</p> <p>Organization Journalism Public Meetings</p>





Treasurer of the RN, was another leading organizer. Lucien Lessard directed the RN's newspaper, La Nation. Two other active members were Firmin Bernatchez and Jean-Marc Béliveau.

Owing to difficulties of working with the whole Provisional Committee, a small informal working committee of the most active members (Table 2) was set up. This committee was styled an "inner cabinet" by one of its members.

### The President

As President of the RN. René Jutras seemed the most influential member of the movement. His preeminence arose from his original leadership of the regional dissenters in the RIN, for it was probably he more than any other who promoted the withdrawal from the RIN and the subsequent formation of the RN. Jutras chaired the committee which drew up the Manifesto for the founding convention.

Jutras was selected Provisional President, since the committee felt that he was the best person and the only one who could receive unanimous support. He was to remain President until such time as a general assembly of the members was called and there could be a formal election. Jutras accepted the presidency for the interim period on the condition that he have, as President, considerable freedom of action in policy-making.



During 1964-5, Jutras continued to display the energy which he had shown as a rebel in the RIN. He set forth the ideology of the RN in his book, Québec Libre. He wrote a large number of articles for La Nation. He prepared press releases. With Mme Jutras, he visited the editors of several of the newspapers of Sherbrooke, Quebec and Montreal in efforts to have the editors adopt more favourable attitudes towards the Regroupement National. Jutras also embarked on several tours of the Province (See Table 3, Page 121).

Between September 1964 and June 1965, he made a total of thirty-nine appearances, of which twenty-one were in the region of the Bois-Francs - l'Estrie and seven in Quebec City. Ten were at public meetings of the RN, eight were before student groups, and seven in talks before special associations.<sup>1</sup>

Another aspect of the President's work was radio and television. Between September 1964 and June 1965, Jutras made six television or radio appearances. He also planned RN television programmes for the winter of 1965-6.

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<sup>1</sup> Among the associations which Jutras spoke to were the Clubs Richelieu, Clubs Fleur de Lys, Sociétés St-Jean Baptiste and a Journalists' Club.



TABLE 3: Political Activities of President Jutras<sup>1</sup>

I <u>Type of Activity</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Public Meeting	10	25.6
TV or Radio Appearance	6	15.4
Press Conference	2	5.1
Speech before Student Group	8	20.5
Speech before Special Associations <sup>2</sup>	7	17.9
Other	6	15.4
TOTAL	39	100.0

II <u>Activity by Area</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Quebec City	7	17.9
Bois-Francs - l'Estrie	21	53.8
Côte Nord	3	7.7
Saguenay - Lac St-Jean	4	10.3
Montréal	3	7.7
Mauricie	1	2.6
TOTAL	39	100.0

<sup>1</sup> These figures are based on a list of Jutras' activities for 1964-5 given in La Nation, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Among the associations which Jutras spoke to were the Clubs Richelieu, Clubs Fleur de Lys, Sociétés St-Jean Baptiste and a Journalists' Club.



Jutras listed his RN functions:-

- 1) Preparing articles and editorials for La Nation.
- 2) Working in RN private meetings.
- 3) Speaking at public meetings.
- 4) Reading on the subject of Quebec independence.
- 5) Holding special meetings and making visits on RN business.
- 6) Preparing press communiqués.

Jutras stated that he usually devoted Tuesday and Thursday evenings to RN business.

#### The Organizer-in-Chief

When in 1964 Jean Garon was named Organizer-in-Chief, he was already a nationalist of some standing. As a Laval student, he had been active in nationalist groups. Later, he joined the RIN and, along with Jean Miville-Deschêne, set up a number of RIN sections in Quebec City and the Lower St. Lawrence. When the 1964 split occurred, he helped to lead some RIN sections into the new movement.

During 1964-5, Garon devoted most of his weekends to the Regroupement National. With his interest in recruiting, he and other organizers made frequent motor trips to different parts of the province.

When there was no RN grouping in an area, some sympathetic persons had to be found. The organizers would





enter a general store in a village and begin a discussion on politics. Trying to find out if there was any separatist feeling, they would ask - "Est-ce que ça parle de séparatisme ici?" If they were able to find the names and addresses of any separatists, they visited these persons immediately. The organizers also called upon any friends and acquaintances who might be favourable to them. Friends could organize future meetings for them. One of the major steps was to prepare lists of names of interested persons. Once such lists were compiled, tours could be better planned.

Garon had began this organizing work with Deschêne in 1960. They slowly built up groupings along the Côte Nord, the Côte Sud and in the region of the Saguenay - Lac St-Jean. During 1964-5, Garon also made three weekend trips to the Abitibi region.

Garon felt that progress had been made in the course of the five years' work. Whereas in 1960 there had been no organization anywhere, in 1965 there were a great many separatist groups.

### The Journal

The first number of La Nation was published on September 26th, 1964. It was brought out by the Provisional Committee to announce the founding of the Regroupement National. The first issue was short and contained only four pages.



The second number of La Nation appeared in January 1965 and had eight pages. It was announced that Lucien Lessard is the Editor-in-Chief. Beginning in January, La Nation appeared in a fairly regular manner. New issues were brought out in January, February, April, May, June, July-August, and September-October. In the June edition, the names of eight regular editors, in addition to Lucien Lessard, appeared in the paper. The price of La Nation was fixed at \$2.00 for a subscription for twelve numbers or \$0.10 cents a single copy.

The circulation of La Nation is not easily determined. The fourth number of the paper gave the figure 12,000, while the issues five to eight mentioned 30,000. One organizer stated that 30,000 copies of the September-October edition were printed and that the number of subscriptions was 5,000. Extra copies were distributed free of charge by party workers. However, it seemed unlikely that the subscriptions were as high as the reported 5,000.

#### Meetings of the members

The leading members of the RN were separated by large distances,<sup>2</sup> and could not meet regularly. The Provisional

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<sup>2</sup> Distances between Quebec and three other centers where members reside are as follows:

Quebec-Victoriaville	- 76 miles
Quebec-Chicoutimi	- 132 miles
Quebec-Forestville	- 188 miles.



Committee probably did not meet more than once every three months during 1965, and even then full attendance may not have been achieved. However, sub-committees of the Provisional Committee were probably convened more frequently. Often the telephone or mail service was the only means of communication available to RN members.

There was no general meeting of members in 1964-5. A general meeting originally scheduled for the spring of 1965 was put off indefinitely. The practical difficulties of bringing the members together seemed insurmountable.

#### Other Activities.

During 1964-5, the RN laid plans to contest the next provincial elections. The hope was to win a few seats in 1966 and in the course of later elections to supplant the official opposition. Certain members made known their intentions to run as RN candidates in the elections - Firmin Bernatchez announced his candidature in Levis.

The RN held occasional public meetings. One of the largest was in Quebec on November 3rd. On this occasion, four RN leaders spoke to some 125 persons.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix IX.





Though the RN adopted the 10-point Manifesto as its basic political programme, attempts were made to produce a more comprehensive document. In the spring of 1965, Gabriel-M. Pelletier, one of the founding members, took the initiative of preparing a document to serve as a basis for a political programme. This document was published in La Nation in April, 1965. However, Pelletier later withdrew from the RN and the work on the political programme was not continued.

### Finances

Among the principal sources of revenue were membership fees. The basic fee was \$10 a year, but a few individuals contributed \$20 every month. Advertisements in La Nation also provided revenue. Finally, there were campaigns for special purposes, such as the purchase of television time.

Two important expense items were the publishing of La Nation and the purchase of television time. Other expenses, including the maintenance of the small secretariat in Quebec City, were minor.



#### IV IDEOLOGY

##### Manifesto

The Manifesto of the Regroupement National describes in ten points the basic principles of the movement.<sup>1</sup> The ten brief articles are supplemented by explanatory remarks from President Jutras appearing in the first issue of La Nation.

The first three points are devoted to a description of the desired independent Quebec. The new Quebec is to be sovereign, democratic, French, and Christian. Its democratic character would be assured through the recruitment of politicians, the organization and process of government, and the nature of the legislation passed. The government would support actively the development of the French culture. Since the vast majority of Quebec citizens are Christian, the State is to defend Christian values.

The Manifesto makes clear that the RN will use only legal and orderly means to attain its objectives. The RN condemns violence, corruption, and totalitarianism.

In the field of economics, the RN aims for balanced growth, full employment, and the general well-being of the agricultural and working classes. In its planning, the RN

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<sup>1</sup> For the text of the Manifesto, See Appendix VIII.



would make use of many economic and social theories without attributing undue importance to any one.

The RN regards the family as the basic unit of Quebec society. Family values must not be lost in the changes of the twentieth century. These basic values are intimately linked to the national life of French Canada.

The Manifesto proclaims the adherence of the RN to the principles of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Finally, it is stated that the RN will treat fairly the cultural minorities of Quebec.

#### Jutras' Book

Jutras published his book, Québec Libre, in May 1965.<sup>2</sup> In eighty-five pages, he discussed the philosophical as well as political and economic implications of Quebec independence.

Jutras begins by saying that there are only two realistic alternatives open to Quebec - the status quo or political sovereignty. He then argues that the second is the only natural course; French Canada must direct its internal affairs and play its own role on the world scene.

Jutras considers the economic aspects of independence. With rich natural resources and many primary industries, Quebec has a sound base. However, there are few secondary

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<sup>2</sup> For references, See Bibliography.



industries. Manufactured goods have been imported from Ontario in exchange for primary products. Quebec has even imported some primary products - agricultural produce from the west has been brought in despite the need to encourage Quebec agriculture. With independence, Quebec would be in a position to end these economic anomalies.

In discussing the philosophical and moral aspects of independence, Jutras suggests that nationality implies basic human values. Composed of men and their family groupings, the nation is at the same time both material and spiritual. It is inseparably linked to man's customs, traditions, and culture. The nation is an organizer of man's institutions, many of which spring from the national life.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Jutras remarks (pages 27 and 28 of Québec Libre): Dans un premier rôle, la nation est éducatrice: une éducatrice très discrète "comme une mère", très patiente, très désintéressée, très effacée, pas toujours désirée, mais constamment présente. C'est elle qui dès le début de la vie, par l'hérédité, par les coutumes, par les traditions insensibles, par les formes du langage, façonne les petits à l'image de leurs pères...

Dans un second rôle, la nation est également "organisatrice". Une "organisatrice" qui conduit insensiblement mais graduellement, à la mise en place d'institutions matérielles.





Jutras observes that the rise to independence is a common phenomenon of growth. In the natural order, a nation has the right to be independent.

It is a natural feeling for a man to love his country (patrie). This love of country stems from respect for ancestors and blood relations. It is closely connected with the first love, which is the love of parents, brothers and sisters, wife, and children...

Given this interpretation of nationality, Jutras feels that the Marxists and Communists cannot be genuine in their nationalist activities. Because of the Marxist disregard for national values, there is no place for Marxist participation in the struggle for Quebec independence. Jutras' opposition to the Marxist independentists is thus absolute.

Jutras reviews the existing political situation in Canada, as governed by the British North America Act 1867. One major difficulty arises from the fact that the people of Quebec are asked to support two legislatures - the Quebec Parliament and the Federal Parliament. This dual parliamentary responsibility has confused Quebec citizens, and French Canada has not been well represented in either parliament. If this situation is not corrected shortly, the political position of French Canada may deteriorate beyond repair.



Jutras asks how one should define the Quebec man, "l'homme québécois". He notes that French Canadians are usually 11th or 12th generation descendants of the men who founded New France. They have been described in the works of Ringuet, Grignon, Savard, Lemelin, Gélinas, Roy, and Vignault. Though they have suffered a great deal, French Canadians have survived and do form a nation. Because of this nationhood, Jutras calls for independence and a Quebec state that would be democratic, French, and Christian. Jutras is sure that, were the proud ancestors of French Canadians living today, they too would call for a Quebec independence to be brought about in order and dignity...

Demandons-nous surtout quelle attitude cet ancêtre aimerait voir prendre à ses descendants, lui qui a bravé des océans, des hivers inconnus, des indigènes barbares ... Opterait-il pour le maintien de la tutelle fédérale, de la domination et de l'extinction? ou pour la libération de cette patrie profanée, parce que nous, ses fils, ne l'avons peut-être pas assez aimée?...

Hommes québécois mes frères, à quand votre réponse? La mienne est donnée: c'est l'indépendance politique du Québec dans l'ordre et la dignité.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Jutras - Page 80.



V MEMBERSHIPMembership

Absolute Number: The membership of the Regroupement National stood at approximately 100 in 1965.

Age: The average age of members seemed to be between thirty-five and forty. While some members were over fifty years of age, a considerable number were in their thirties. Few members were under thirty years of age.

Sex: The members of the RN were almost exclusively men.

Ethnic Origin and Religion: The members were French Canadians by origin. They were also of the Roman Catholic religion, although a small number abandoned religious practices.

Social Class and Occupation: The members belonged especially to the middle and upper classes. By occupation, many were lawyers, doctors, and teachers, while others were owners of private businesses or, less often, persons with positions in large corporations. Many members had real influence and prestige in their milieu.

Place of Residence: The members inhabited Quebec City and certain outlying regions. In particular, they were from Quebec City, Victoriaville, and the Bois-Francs Region, the Côte Nord, and the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean Region.





Tables 1-3 (pages 134-136) show the results of a short survey of ads appearing in La Nation and provide an indication of sources of support for the Regroupement National. Table 1 gives a break-down by region of ad-space<sup>1</sup> in La Nation<sup>2</sup>. The largest amount of ad-space came from the Bois-Francs - Estrie Region (36.9%) and from Quebec City (27.1%). There were also ads from other areas - Côte Nord, (8.8%) Saguenay - Lac St-Jean (5.1%), and Montreal (3.1%).

Table 2 gives a breakdown of the ads by the nature of the purchaser. Advertisements for private enterprises occupy by far the most space (60.8%). Certain professionals purchased ads: lawyers (7.1%) doctors (4.4%), engineers (2.1%), and professors (1.7%). Businessmen as individuals accounted for some (4.3%) of the ad-space.

Table 3 gives a breakdown of the ads by the absolute number of ads without regard to space. Private enterprises accounted for the largest number of ads (41.0%). Other purchasers were lawyers (12.9%), doctors (7.2%), businessmen (6.5%), and engineers (4.3%).

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<sup>1</sup> The ad-space was measured in column inches. The width of a column in La Nation is two inches. A column inch represents therefore a space of approximately two square inches.

<sup>2</sup> The figures in Tables 1-3 are based on a study of the ads which appeared in La Nation: Vol. I: No. 1-6, 8.



TABLE I:    Advertisements in La Nation by Region<sup>1</sup>  
                  Space in Column Inches

<u>Region</u>	<u>Column Inches</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Côte Nord	62	8.8
Québec (ville)	190	27.1
Bois-Francis - Estrie	259	36.9
Saguenay - Lac St-Jean	36	5.1
Montréal	22	3.1
Other	47	6.7
Unknown <sup>2</sup>	85	12.1
TOTAL	701	100.0%

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<sup>1</sup> The figures in this table are based on a study of ads appearing in La Nation, Vol. I, No. 1-6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the ads were anonymous, giving neither name or region of the purchaser.



TABLE 2: Advertisements in La Nation by Nature of Purchaser<sup>1</sup>

Space in Column Inches

<u>Nature of Purchaser</u>	<u>Column Inches</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Private Enterprise	426	60.8
Doctor	31	4.4
Lawyer <sup>2</sup>	50	7.1
Professor	12	1.7
Engineer <sup>3</sup>	15	2.1
Other Professional	7	1.0
Businessman <sup>4</sup>	30	4.3
Other	87	12.4
Unknown <sup>5</sup>	43	6.1
TOTAL	701	100.0

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<sup>1</sup> The figures in this table are based on a study of ads appearing in La Nation, Vol. I, No. 1-6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Includes notaries.

<sup>3</sup> Includes architects.

<sup>4</sup> Includes chartered accountants.

<sup>5</sup> Many of the ads were anonymous and the nature of the purchaser was unknown.



TABLE 3: Advertisements in La Nation by Nature of Purchaser<sup>1</sup>  
 Absolute Number of Ads

<u>Nature of Purchaser</u>	<u>Number of Ads</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Private Enterprise	57	41.0
Doctor	10	7.2
Lawyer <sup>2</sup>	18	12.9
Professor	1	0.7
Engineer <sup>3</sup>	6	4.3
Other Professional	3	2.2
Businessmen <sup>4</sup>	9	6.5
Other	19	13.7
Unknown <sup>5</sup>	16	11.5
TOTAL	139	100.0

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<sup>1</sup> The figures in this table are based on a study of ads appearing in La Nation; Vol. I; No. 1-6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Includes notaries.

<sup>3</sup> Includes architects.

<sup>4</sup> Includes chartered accountants.

<sup>5</sup> Many of the ads were anonymous and the nature of the purchaser was unknown.





A comparison of Tables 2 and 3 suggests that private enterprises take the largest ads. With 41.0% of the ads, private enterprises bought 60.8% of the space. The professionals purchased smaller ads. Lawyers had 12.9% of the ads, but only 7.1% of the space. The corresponding figures for doctors were 7.2% and 4.4%, for businessmen 6.5% and 4.3%, and for engineers 4.3% and 2.1%.



## VI PERSONAL HISTORIES

### Personal Histories

A study of four case histories provides some information as to the general backgrounds of RN members and, in particular, the reasons for their choice of "l'option indépendance".

Case I: Monsieur "W" is a Victoriaville pediatrician, forty-four years of age. Married with ten children, he was a founding member of the Regroupement National.

"W" comes from an old Victoriaville family. His grandfather built up a furniture business, which was carried on by his father and other members of the family. Despite their lack of education, "W's" grandfather and father were successful, but they determined that their children should be educated. "W" was sent to both college and university.

As a youth, "W" was early exposed to conservative and nationalist ideas. His father was a strong nationalist, especially since the great business rival was an Ontario furniture company. "W's" father was an admirer of Armand Lavergne, who was also from the Bois-Francs Region.

"W" himself had some slight contact with English Canadians as a young man. He played the organ at the Victoriaville air force base. He always refused to play "God Save the King", choosing instead "O Canada" when the national anthem was called for.



"W" studied medicine at Laval, and married a fellow medical student. After Laval, he took specialized training in the United States. With four years of training in American hospitals, "W" returned to Victoriaville, where he quickly became one of the leading doctors. He designed the pediatric ward of the new Arthabaska Hospital and helped to build a clinic in Victoriaville. "W" built a new and modern home for his growing family.

Despite a busy family and professional life, "W" retained an interest in politics. He followed Duplessis' campaigns for provincial autonomy with great interest. His father and grandfather had been nationalists; he wished to carry on the tradition. In 1964, he joined the RIN because he had come to believe in independence, but he was soon disappointed. He was shocked to find revolutionaries, communists and atheists among RIN members. In the summer of 1964, "W" left the RIN to become one of the founding members of the Regroupement National.

"W" works hard at the RN, devoting two evenings every week to the movement. Nevertheless, he feels that his political responsibilities must come second to his family and medical practice.





Case 2: Monsieur "X" is a Quebec City public relations specialist and economist of thirty years of age. He is not married.

Born in a little village on the North Shore, "X" learned English from an Irish mother but always regarded himself as a French Canadian. At Laval University, where he studied social science, "X" was an ardent and well known nationalist.

On graduation, "X" worked as an economist in the Quebec civil service. However, he left the civil service in 1963 when the RIN, of which he was a militant member, became a political party. "X" found a new position in the public relations department of a large corporation.

In 1964, a series of disagreements ranged "X" and other Quebec City leaders against the central Executive of the RIN. The disagreements ended in a complete break. In August 1964, "X" withdrew from the RIN and threw all his energies into the Regroupement National. After a year of hard work in the new movement, "X" remained confident of the future.

Case 3: Monsieur "Y" is a Quebec City lawyer and businessman of forty-two years of age. He is married with children.



"Y" was the son of a Union Nationale MLA and was early exposed to the nationalist tradition of Henri Bourassa. After studying law at Laval University, "Y" began a law practice but soon left for a permanent position with a Quebec City insurance company.

During the 1950's, "Y" became an active member and senior officer of the St-Jean Baptiste Society of Quebec. In 1959, he tried to organize a ceremony to commemorate 200 years of co-operation between the French and English in Canada. However, the project aroused so much opposition from nationalists all over Quebec that it had to be abandoned. "Y" felt obliged to resign his post.

Following this incident, "Y" began to rethink his position on national problems. Finally, in 1960, he joined the RIN and became a founding member of the Quebec City Section of the movement. "Y" left the RIN in 1962 to join Marcel Chaput's Parti Républicain du Québec, but returned when the PRQ collapsed in 1963. In 1964, he left once again for the new Regroupement National. He worked with the Regroupement National throughout the winter of 1964-5.

During the spring and summer of 1965, "Y" questioned some of the political tenets that he had held for a long time - he began to have doubts about the wisdom of the "option indépendance". After the United States intervention



in Santo Domingo, "Y" wondered whether independence in Quebec might bring violence and a US intervention. On reading that an American Senator had stated that the US might use force to stop a Quebec separation, "Y" felt that to attempt separation would be unwise. "Y" further doubted separatist theories following conversations with certain of his acquaintances in the Quebec Government. He was told that separatism was a false ideal. What was really necessary in Quebec was not separation, but far-reaching economic and social reforms, particularly in the field of education. Finally, "Y" had long and frank discussions with his wife, who was opposed to separatism.

During the summer, "Y" stopped working at the RN. In the fall, he turned down invitations to attend RN meetings. He could no longer participate in the movement, since he no longer believed in independence.

Case 4: Monsieur "Z" is a doctor, forty-eight years of age. He is married with eleven children and a resident of a town on the North Shore. Besides being a well-known doctor, "Z" is the mayor. Although not officially a member of the Regroupement National, he has contributed financially to the RN and he is a fervent believer in Quebec independence.

"Z" was born and raised in St-Hyacinthe. "Z's" father was a St. Hyacinthe notary, and his mother a former Franco-American. Though their father died while they were young,





"Z" and his brother were both able to go to university.

"Z" had hoped to attend the Royal Military College at Kingston, but he was turned down by the College. He then embarked upon a medical career.

After completing his medical course, "Z" went to practise in a small town in Chateauguay County. There "Z" had the chance to meet and come to know a number of English Protestants. There were notable differences between English Protestant doctors and French Catholic ones. After some years in Chateauguay, "Z" moved to the North Shore.

"Z" was most interested in the experiences of his eldest son. His son, a Laval student, had always held anti-separatist views. However, one year his son joined the COTC programme at Laval and spent a summer at Camp Borden with four other COTC trainees. The experience appeared to have been a most unpleasant one. His son knew almost no English and had had no military training. "Z" received a letter from his son saying "je n'ai pas l'impression de servir dans l'armée de mon pays". When his son arrived home, "Z" found him more separatist than himself. If things did not change radically, he thought that his son would be tempted to use bombs.

"Z" attended a meeting of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in Victoria, B.C. There, the Quebec mayors were well received. However, "Z" met a number of





French Canadians from the West. He was shocked to find out the real situation of western French Canadians. He noted that many of the children no longer spoke French and that people in general were afraid to use French for fear of the disapproval of persons around them. French was not permitted in the schools. By contrast, in "Z's" town there was a special taxi service paid for by the local school board to take a half-dozen English children to another town where there was an English school.

"Z" was very disturbed by the place of French Canadians in Quebec industry. There was a line beyond which the ordinary French Canadian could not climb. If a French Canadian were willing to become assimilated, he could rise somewhat above the usual level. However, even the assimilated French Canadian was not wholly accepted by the English. "Z" had two cousins in Montreal who, after attending Loyola College and McGill University, had succeeded in doing very well in industry at the price of becoming almost completely anglicized.

"Z" observed that the English-speaking directors of the paper company near his town had taken a strong dislike to him. They advised their employees not to consult him, but to go to one of the English doctors in the area.



"Z" felt that the position of French Canada was critical. His generation had accepted gross injustices. The coming generation would revolt, resorting to violent means if necessary. "Z" hoped for immediate independence so that there would be no violence. "Z" believed that, without independence, French Canada would cease to exist - "c'est l'indépendance ou la mort d'un peuple".



## VII RELATIONS WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS

### Relations with the RIN

Relations were very bad between RN and RIN in 1964-5. The RN violently condemned both the leaders and the policies of the RIN. As men who had once led opposing factions within the same movement, the leaders of the two movements were very hostile to each other.

Ideological differences constituted a major barrier to any understanding. The two parties differed on at least three fundamentals - religious and personal values; political economic, and social views; and the role of the movement for Quebec Independence.

Religious differences were striking. The RN and its leader believed in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The Church should have a central place in Quebec. By contrast, many members of the RIN were in open revolt against the established Church. To some, and especially Pierre Bourgault, the powers of the Church over education and other areas of society were an anathema.

Political, economic, and social views were often diametrically opposed in the two movements. In the RN, there was an implicit bias toward the established order. In only



one respect was it necessary to change the status quo - Quebec had to withdraw from Confederation. However, even this could only be done in a legal and orderly way. The RN viewed the role of government as a limited one and had a strong faith in the principles of personal freedom and private initiative. The RN was skeptical about welfare. Too much welfare could bring a lazy and unproductive society.

The RIN approach was very different. Radical changes were inevitable. Quebec independence was necessary, but was scarcely more than a first step and a means to further changes. The RIN put faith in government action and planning. Government had to control economic activity and plan for the welfare of the whole.

The RN and RIN held different views on the role of the independence party. For many RN leaders, the party was a part-time association. It had serious objectives, yet it was placed in perspective. Dedication to the party was not total, other interests, such as family or profession, appearing more important. On the other hand, in the RIN, the attachment to the party was strong and often excluded other loyalties and interests. The movement itself occupied a central place in the lives of the members.

Ideological differences between RN and RIN were aggravated by personality clashes. President Bourgault was much disliked by the RN leaders, who regarded him as a





Marxist, a doctrinaire and an agnostic. Vice-President Guy Pouliot was not liked by RN leaders, but he was not a bitter enemy like Bourgault. Other RIN figures, such as Rodrigue Guité, Pierre Renaud and Maurice Leroux, were seen as more or less hostile.

To RN members, the RIN leaders generally were undependable and unstable persons. They were persons who had failed in their personal lives and who could not be entrusted with public responsibilities. The destinies of the independence movement had to be wrested from them.

The RN was not willing to assist the RIN in the 1966 provincial elections. On the contrary, RN members were actively opposing Bourgault's candidature in the county of Duplessis (Sept Iles). When a RIN organizer called on Paul Sabourin to contribute to Bourgault's campaign in Duplessis, he was met by a very firm, negative reply.

In summary, ideological differences and personality clashes continued to cause very bad relations between the RN and RIN during 1964-5. Even a tacit agreement not to oppose one another in elections seemed unlikely.

#### Relations with other Movements

During 1964-5, the Regroupement National gradually found its place in the spectrum of political and nationalist movements. Jutras wrote an article in the first number of



La Nation entitled "Pour un esprit de continuité". Tracing the history of the 19th and 20th century in French Canada, Jutras saw the RN as a successor to many nationalist movements. The RN was in the tradition; it belonged to the nationalist family. The entry of René Chaloult into the RN on September 26, 1965, and his nomination as Vice-President of the movement further emphasized the traditionalist aspect of the RN. With Chaloult, the RN turned more directly to the nationalist movements of the 30's and 40's for its inspiration.

The RN leaders had natural sympathies for the Union Nationale. During the 50's, they had supported Duplessis and his concept of provincial autonomy. In 1965, RN members regarded the UN as a potential source of allies, and certain UN organizers were won over to the RIN. At the same time, the UN appeared as a rival, for the RN hoped to contest many of the seats held by the UN.

The Cr ditistes were regarded with sympathy. They were the party which successfully broke the old two party system in Quebec. The Cr ditiste success spelled hope for the RN. The New Democratic Party was also highly regarded as a new and dynamic party. It faced problems similar to the RN in fighting the two party system.



The Liberals, both Federal and Provincial, were disliked. The traditional antipathy for the "Rouges" was supplemented by discontent with their stand on nationalist issues. There was fear of the socialist and state interventionist positions of the Provincial Liberal Cabinet. State intervention in certain cases could be acceptable for nationalist reasons, but there were strong reservations in the RN on the subject of increased welfare, radically changed school programmes, and economic planning policies espoused by the Liberal Government in Quebec.



## VIII CONCLUSIONS

### Conclusions

The RN had its roots in the RIN, for the leaders had almost all served previously with the RIN. Thus, despite the ideological differences, the influence of the old movement remained strong. RN sections, particularly in organizational terms, tended to resemble the groupings in the RIN.

The RN reflected the conservative and semi-religious strain of Quebec nationalism. Leaders favoured a maximum of freedom and private initiative, except where state action is necessary to promote the use of French. The RN also believed that the Church should maintain a central place in Quebec society.

The RN was the product of a regional (non-Montreal) nationalism. The movement drew support in Quebec and certain regional centres, such as Victoriaville, but was virtually unknown in Montreal.

The RN seemed to reflect a more restrained nationalism (than that of the RIN). National feelings were deep, but there were other interests. Loyalties to the Church, to the family, and to a profession often come before the loyalty to the RN.





During 1964-5, the Regroupement National attained a membership of perhaps 100 with many more persons as sympathizers. It rallied conservative and Catholic nationalists and was well known in certain regions of Quebec. In the province as a whole, however, the movement seemed to exert much less influence.



Section IV

Parti Pris

par

Guy Dozois

en collaboration avec

Charles Barker

André Vachon



I INTRODUCTION

Les 3, 4, 10, 11 et 17 octobre 1964, j'ai procédé aux premières rencontres avec les membres de l'équipe de la revue Parti Pris. J'ai d'abord rencontré le professeur "A" qui avait enseigné à messieurs "B" et "C": le but était de me permettre de connaître la personnalité des gens que j'aurais à interviewer. L'appréciation fort exacte que m'a donnée "A" m'a été utile. Il m'a parlé de "B" et de "C" comme de personnes très différentes de ce que pouvaient laisser supposer le ton et le style de leurs articles. "Ils sont", m'a-t-il dit, "des hommes calmes, exposant presque avec timidité leur point de vue, écoutant les objections: rien d'extrême chez eux." Et en effet j'ai connu un "C" et un "B" tels que décrits par "A". "A" s'offrait comme "médiateur" entre moi et l'équipe de la revue, (s'il s'avérait impossible que je procède autrement); mais nous fûmes d'accord pour que je les approche d'une manière plus "naturelle", si possible.

J'ai donc rencontré "D", journaliste à La Presse et qui a collaboré à la revue. Il s'agissait pour moi d'expliquer à "D" l'étude que je poursuivais afin qu'il puisse la présenter à "C" dans les meilleures conditions possibles. Ce que j'ai fait, en prenant soin de spécifier que l'étude était poursuivie au nom de la Commission. C'est donc "D" qui a communiqué avec "C".





Quelques jours plus tard je communiquais par téléphone avec "D". Il semblait que tout allait bien, que "C", parfaitement au courant du but de l'enquête, acceptait. Nouvel appel à "C" avec qui je fixais un rendez-vous pour le samedi suivant.

A la fin de l'entrevue avec "C", celui-ci communiquait avec "E" - qui, n'étant pas libre ce jour-là ni le lendemain, me donna rendez-vous pour le week-end suivant - et avec "B" qui me reçut le lendemain.

L'exposé qui suit se divise en deux grandes parties: les membres de l'équipe et la revue. Chacune des parties donnera lieu à un certain nombre de subdivisions.

Cet exposé est suivi de deux appendices. Le premier présente une analyse d'une source importante de Parti Pris, Les damnés de la terre, de Franz Fanon et souligne certaines des grandes lignes qui sont communes. Le deuxième fait la synthèse de l'évolution récente de Parti Pris.



## II LES MEMBRES DE LA REVUE

### Caractères généraux

L'équipe de Parti Pris est formée d'hommes jeunes (25 ans), dynamiques, intelligents et convaincus. A l'encontre de l'impression qui ressort de la lecture de leurs articles, ils sont réalistes et ne se bercent d'aucune illusion quant aux buts qu'ils poursuivent. Ils ont une espèce de foi dans leur travail et dans la nécessité de celui-ci et une disponibilité totale face aux exigences qu'entraîne leur philosophie.

Ils n'ignorent pas que la société au sein de laquelle ils oeuvrent est à l'opposé de ce qu'ils désirent qu'elle devienne et ils sont conscients que les générations qui les précèdent ne les prennent pas très au sérieux. Ils ont jusqu'ici subi des avatars, particulièrement quant à leur emploi: un a été mis en demeure de choisir entre la revue et son emploi au Bureau d'aménagement rural de l'Est du Québec et il a choisi; un deuxième enseignait au Collège St-Laurent, jusqu'au jour où il reçut une lettre lui expliquant qu'une réorganisation des cadres et du programme ne permettait pas au collège de le réengager à l'automne. Un troisième n'a que récemment trouvé un emploi, grâce à la présence d'un ami à la direction de l'Ecole régionale de Chambly.



Les membres sont par ailleurs animés d'un véritable esprit d'équipe. Il suffit de causer avec eux pour voir que personne ne réclame la paternité quant à la revue, à son succès ou à son orientation. Et pourtant ils ne cachent pas qu'il y a eu à certains moments des tensions et on imagine aisément que de longues discussions ont dû présider à certaines décisions. Il arrive qu'ils parlent parfois de leurs collègues: ils le feront avec objectivité, pointant leurs faiblesses et leurs qualités.

Ils se sentent engagés dans une aventure qui les exalte et qu'ils croient valable. Nul doute qu'ils n'en ont point estimé toutes les implications lorsqu'ils s'y sont lancés. Ils le savent d'ailleurs.

Notons enfin l'existence d'un véritable esprit fraternel. On le sent à converser avec eux. Mais ils le vivent aussi. Dernièrement un membre de l'équipe devint lauréat du prix de littérature de la province de Québec, auquel est attachée une bourse de \$4000. Tirant déjà un certain revenu en tant que pigiste (particulièrement avec la société Radio-Canada), il décide de céder son emploi, à la Régionale de Chambly, à un collègue sans travail.

Nous avons déjà noté qu'ils avaient environ 25 ans, étant nés en ou près de 1940. Ils n'ont donc pas connu la guerre, non plus que les conséquences de la crise économique de 1920-30. Ils se sont éveillés aux problèmes de la cité,





comme ils le notent eux-mêmes, dans les dernières années du régime duplessiste. Ils avaient en général 16 ou 17 ans en 1956-57.

Certains d'entre eux sont mariés (deux sur les trois interrogés). Tous deux ont un enfant et en attendent un second. Deux des membres de l'équipe sont beaux-frères par alliance ("B" a épousé la soeur de "G" et celui-ci la soeur de "B"). Un seul (il est marié) n'a pas d'emploi actuellement et fait parfois des travaux de traduction. L'un d'eux (qui ne travaillait pas lorsque je l'ai rencontré mais qui depuis a remplacé son collègue à la régionale de Chambly) vivait d'emprunts. Celui qui ne travaille pas à l'heure actuelle vient d'une famille où le père fait un fort revenu.

Ils ont tous fait leurs études universitaires: deux ont une licence en philosophie de l'Université de Montréal (l'un d'eux a depuis complété sa scolarité en vu du Ph.D.) et le troisième a une licence en lettres. Deux ont fait leurs études classiques: l'un en entier au collège St-Laurent, l'autre au Bréboeuf, au collège de Montréal et à Ste-Marie, pour enfin obtenir son baccalauréat à l'Université d'Ottawa. Un troisième a d'abord terminé son cours scientifique spécial avant de faire l'Ecole Normale à l'école Jacques-Cartier de Montréal.

Ils ont tous été de bons élèves: j'entends des élèves rangés, du moins en apparence. L'un d'eux commence





à lire Marx et Lénine ainsi que les oeuvres de Paul Ricoeur et d'Emmanuel Mounier dans ses dernières années de collège et lance à cette époque un journal, Liberté étudiante. Les deux autres sont surtout influencés par les surréalistes et les existentialistes: l'un lit Gabriel Marcel, Paul Claudel et St-John Perse; l'autre Camus, Breton, Eluard.

A l'Université, le premier poursuit l'étude de Marx et de Lénine et lira un peu Brunet et Frégault. Le second abordera Sartre, les philosophes (de Descartes à Hegel mais dans le cadre de ses études) et les poètes canadiens: St-Denys Garneau, Anne Hébert, Alain Grandbois ainsi que la romancière Gabrielle Roy. Le troisième se met à la lecture de Sartre mais bientôt de Merleau-Ponty puis des anthropologues américains et enfin de Lévi-Strauss.

L'un d'eux termine ses études classiques au séminaire des Pères de Ste-Croix mais il en sortira pour terminer ses études philosophiques à l'Université. Un second sera beatnik durant ses années à l'Université parce qu'il sera "en révolte ouverte contre son milieu".

Au moment où ils étaient à l'université, deux étaient membres de la section universitaire du RIN et tous étaient membres du MLF et du PSQ, l'un étant, de plus, président des jeunesses socialistes.



Le Milieu Familial

Les milieux familiaux révèlent chez tous des origines modestes. Un seul est membre d'une famille relativement nombreuse: sept enfants. Son père, aujourd'hui retraité, a été toute sa vie ingénieur au Pacifique Canadien. Né à Rosemont, il y est demeuré toute sa vie. Il a fait une sixième année. Gens modestes, menant une vie tranquille, membres d'aucune association de quelque type que ce soit. Ils ont eu six fils dont trois ont fait des études supérieures; l'un est avocat, l'autre licencié en philosophie et le troisième termine cette année son baccalauréat au collège St-Viateur; les deux autres ont fait des études secondaires: l'un est facteur, le second comptable. La seule fille étudie la psychologie à l'Université de Montréal. La famille est catholique pratiquante à l'exception du père qui ne pratiquerait qu'afin de ne pas avoir d'histoires.

Le père et la mère du second viennent de l'extérieur de Montréal: le père de Grand-Mère, la mère de St-Jérôme. Le père est dessinateur industriel pour une compagnie anglaise: "le type parfait du colonisé" note son fils. Ils ne militent dans aucune association. Tous deux ont un niveau primaire d'éducation. Ils ont trois filles: l'ainée est couturière alors que les deux autres, âgées respectivement de 20 et 18 ans ont fait une 10e ou une 11e année et sont toutes deux mariées. La cadette est la femme de "G". La famille est catholique sauf la femme de "G" qui ne pratique pas.



La famille du troisième est d'origine franco-ontarienne: famille paysanne, elle s'installe à Embrun où le père se lance avec succès dans les affaires. Celui-ci fait des études à l'Université d'Ottawa où il obtient sa maîtrise en sciences commerciales, puis aux HEC de Montréal. Début modeste, il habite l'est de la ville, puis le nord avant d'aller à Côte des Neiges et enfin Outremont. La mère a étudié à l'Ecole Normale puis a enseigné. Le père est membre de l'OJC et de diverses associations professionnelles. C'est un nationaliste modéré mais antiséparatiste. Outre celui de Parti Pris, il a un fils étudiant en sciences économiques et une fille, étudiante en lettres, tous deux à l'Université de Montréal.

#### Les Relations Familiales

Il semble que les activités séparatistes et la publication d'une revue où ils affichent leur marxisme et leur anticléricalisme ne créent pas de problèmes particuliers entre les membres de Parti Pris et leur famille respective.

Leurs familles - sauf quelques rares exceptions parmi les frères et les soeurs - sont indifférentes au séparatisme. Il semble que seul le frère de "E" soit un militant convaincu: il en serait de même de la femme de "B" soeur de "G" et de la femme de "G", soeur de "B". Par ailleurs, l'épouse de "E", fille d'un ex-député provincial de Chambly, est pour le moins sympathique au séparatisme.





Les parents regrettent que leurs fils soient devenus séparatistes, socialistes, laïcistes. Ils regrettent surtout que ceux-ci éprouvent de la difficulté à se trouver un emploi stable. Pour les parents, leurs enfants perdent leur temps et compromettent leur avenir.

### La Religion

Nous avons déjà noté que les membres de Parti Pris sont issus de familles catholiques. Aucun d'eux cependant ne pratique, ils sont tous incroyants. Nous n'avons pas été plus loin dans cette question; sans doute serait-il intéressant de savoir depuis quand ils ne pratiquent pas, et même pourquoi.

### Evolution des Membres

Il y a certes des phénomènes intéressants à noter. Rappelons d'abord ce que nous disions au début. Ces hommes avaient environ 16 ans en 1956, c'est-à-dire à l'époque où l'Union Nationale, encore au faite de sa puissance, commence à chanceler et offre l'image peu intéressante d'un parti rétrograde, conservateur et corrompu. A ce moment-là, les membres de Parti Pris lisent Cité Libre et l'un d'eux admet que cette revue a joué un rôle certain dans leur vie. Mais c'est à peu près tout. Aucun d'eux n'est nationaliste et tous ne viendront que plusieurs années plus tard au nationalisme. L'un d'eux commence à peine à s'orienter vers le socialisme, un autre à se révolter contre son milieu.





Quelques années plus tard, le troisième entre au séminaire et pour deux ans sera complètement isolé des événements qui se déroulent dans la province.

Notons que tous affirment ne subir aucune influence canadienne-française et encore moins des nationalistes canadiens-français. A cette époque ils n'ont pas lu Groulx -- ils ne l'ont pas encore lu et affirment ne pas vouloir le faire, ni Laurendeau qu'ils apprendront à connaître par les éditoriaux du Devoir. Ils ne lisent pas les revues nationalistes comme l'Action Nationale et ignorent jusqu'à leur existence.

Que se passe-t-il de 1956 à 1960-61? Tous demeurent étrangers au nationalisme. C'est le moment où l'un d'entre eux devient marxiste, un autre existentialiste. Le troisième en communauté, lit les poètes français ou canadiens qui le marqueront profondément. Jusque là, ils ne se connaissent pas. Ils terminent tous leurs études secondaires et s'orientent vers l'université.

1961 marque l'année des grandes rencontres. Ils viennent en contact les uns avec les autres en philosophie ou en lettres. Ils se rencontrent souvent, marxistes et sartriens s'influencent réciproquement.



Il semble qu'à ce moment-là, ils entrent tous en réaction profonde contre le milieu, l'autorité, les valeurs admises et la morale acceptée. Aucun n'admet avoir subi quelque influence que ce soit de leurs professeurs à l'Université. L'un est sévère dans son jugement; les deux autres considèrent simplement que certains de leurs professeurs étaient d'excellents professeurs mais aussi d'excellents bourgeois.

Si d'une part on ne note aucune influence des penseurs nationalistes traditionnels, d'auteurs ou de professeurs, (exclus Marx, Sartre, et Cie.) et si d'autre part on remarque une inter-influence entre les membres du groupe, on note également l'influence d'un Gaston Miron, d'un Jacques Ferron ou d'un Raoul Roy.

Il serait juste de dire que les années 1961 et 1962 les amènent définitivement au socialisme, au "marxisme - léninisme" dira l'un d'eux. Simultanément ou presque, ils deviennent nationalistes. Mais ils ne suivent pas tous le même itinéraire: "B" et "F" -- celui-ci tentant d'influencer son frère -- sont nationalistes d'abord. Par ailleurs l'un d'entre eux résiste toujours: certes il est sympathique au nationalisme, voir à l'indépendance, mais il pense à quitter Québec pour la France et pour toujours car il est écoeuré de ce pays et ne croit pas au Canada français.



Pour lui et les autres les événements du printemps 1963, c'est-à-dire l'apparition du FLQ et des premiers actes terroristes, sont déterminants. "Emotivement, ces événements jouent un grand rôle" admettra l'un d'eux. Ceux qui hésitent encore, basculent définitivement. Pourquoi? Est-ce uniquement comme l'avoue un des membres, parce que "ce qui s'est passé en Algérie ou à Cuba se passe donc aussi chez nous"? Sans doute, mais la raison ne fait pas le poids et paraît insuffisante pour déterminer l'orientation de toute une vie. Le côté émotif serait primordial et sans doute un certain sentiment d'identification joue-t-il. Ils auraient pu être ces terroristes.

Opposés eux-mêmes au terrorisme, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'ils défendent le FLQ: en tout cas, ils comprendront les membres du FLQ. C'est ce que la lecture de la revue indique, hors de tout doute.

En fait il s'agit d'une éruption soudaine: ces hommes, indifférents au monde qui les entoure, sont deux ans plus tard les indépendantistes le plus convaincus que l'on connaisse.

### Marxisme et Nationalisme

Selon l'un d'eux, le groupe de Parti Pris est marxiste d'abord. Mais l'opinion se doit d'être plus nuancée, comme il le dit lui-même d'ailleurs. De fait, certains seront nationalistes et ne deviendront marxistes





qu'au contact de certains de leurs collègues. Ils suivront en gros deux itinéraires: ils seront marxistes puis deviendront nationalistes, ou inversement. Ce qui est fondamental c'est qu'au moment où ils décident de lancer la revue, à l'été de 1963, ils sont tous marxistes et nationalistes.

Ils sont généralement convaincus qu'une politique de gauche ne peut être instaurée dans un Canada "at large". D'autre part, le socialisme ne leur semble pas très vivant chez leurs compatriotes anglo-saxons. La société canadienne est trop hétérogène et les intérêts trop divers. D'autre part, les structures fédérales ne permettent pas d'instaurer un véritable socialisme à l'échelle du pays sauf si on procède à une centralisation complète des pouvoirs de décision entre les mains des organes fédéraux.

Ce n'est que dans un Québec indépendant que la collectivité canadienne-française pourra instaurer une politique favorable au développement de la communauté tout entière. Dans ce sens donc il est possible de dire que leur nationalisme découle de leur marxisme. En somme le socialisme mènerait directement à la nécessité de l'indépendance.

Toute l'équipe de Parti Pris croit l'indépendance du Québec inéluctable. Il est certain que la rencontre d'un Jacques Berque, puis d'un Serge Mallet a joué un rôle considérable. Ils sentent l'indépendance inscrite dans les





faits: elle est l'aboutissement logique de l'évolution historique. Ils vont donc dans le sens de l'histoire. C'est ainsi qu'ils considèrent devoir se situer à l'intérieur du mouvement.

L'indépendance devant se produire tôt ou tard, ils entendent y jouer un rôle, l'infléchir le plus possible dans le sens qu'ils croient désirable. Sinon ce sera l'anarchie, la spoliation de l'indépendance par les forces rétrogrades. Certes ils ne feront pas l'indépendance et celle-ci ne se fera pas selon les lignes de force qui sont leurs. Mais c'est là une question de temps. Ils n'entendent pas en laisser le monopole à la droite ou au centre.

Ils sont nationalistes, ils le sont sans honte ni restriction. Ceux qui avant eux se sont orientés à gauche (le groupe Cité Libre) abhorraient le nationalisme. A l'extérieur il prenait nom Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Salazar, alliance souvent de la droite et du clergé. Au Canada, au Québec, il s'appelait Duplessis, alliance de la droite et du clergé. Au Québec de plus, l'ancien nationalisme, que la génération de Cité Libre avait connu et même vécu, est pour eux un nationalisme négatif, tourné vers le passé et les valeurs sûres: l'agriculturisme (Brunet) et la religion.

La génération de Parti Pris n'a rien connu de tout cela. Ils ont, il faut encore le rappeler, 20 ans en 1960.



Le nationalisme prend à cette époque un visage exaltant : c'est le colonisé, l'opprimé qui s'insurge contre le colonisateur. C'est l'Afrique tout entière qui se dresse au nom du nationalisme. Qui plus est d'un nationalisme de gauche : Sékou Touré, Patrice Lumumba, Ben Bella, etc... L'incompatibilité n'existe plus.



### III LA REVUE

Le premier numéro de Parti Pris a paru en octobre 1963, et régulièrement chaque mois depuis. Le premier numéro du deuxième volume a paru en septembre 1964.

#### Local et organisation

Pendant toute la première année, le local de la revue occupait le sous-sol de l'appartement de "E", rue Champagneur. Depuis, la revue a loué un local, au 2135, rue Bellechasse. Les membres de l'équipe en assurent la permanence tous les soirs. On y trouve les classeurs, une bibliothèque modeste contenant une centaine de livres et une longue table.

La revue est rédigée par l'équipe et un noyau de collaborateurs. On reçoit un certain nombre de textes dont la grande partie est rejetée surtout à cause des idées.

#### Structure

Ce sont "B", "E", "G", "I" et "C" qui lancèrent la revue, à l'été 1963. Ils voulaient travailler en équipe, faire un travail d'équipe et en conséquence ne donnèrent aucune structure rigide à la revue.

On mit sur pied un comité de rédaction et un comité d'administration. Ces deux fonctions divisées, on n'alla pas plus loin: la rédaction est assurée par un groupe



et l'administration par un autre sans répartition particulière des responsabilités. De fait "E" assumera officiellement la direction de la revue "à cause de son dynamisme et du fait qu'il dispose de plus de temps que les autres" dit "C". L'été 1964 verra une réorganisation de la revue. Le comité de rédaction disparaît et on divise les tâches au sein du comité de direction, chacune d'elle ayant un responsable.

Financièrement, ce sont les fondateurs, qui y ont mis chacun \$200.00, qui permirent de lancer la revue. Il semble que la revue ait fait ses frais au cours de la première année de sorte que la mise de fonds demeure encore intacte.

La revue est distribuée par l'Agence de distribution populaire, les membres de l'équipe assurant chaque semaine le service pour les abonnés.

### Tirage et Lecteurs

La revue tire à 4,000 exemplaires dont 3,500 sont vendus chaque mois.

Très tôt on compta de 500 à 600 abonnés dont le nombre atteignit ensuite 700. En septembre 1964, le tirage toucha plus de 800 abonnés. Un collaborateur note qu'il y eu très peu de non-réabonnements et que ce sont généralement des personnes qu'ils connaissent qui ont oublié ou négligé de le faire.





La revue a surtout touché les étudiants et les intellectuels. Elle est très lue à l'Université de Montréal. L'équipe a procédé à une étude sommaire des fiches. Selon eux, 60% de leurs lecteurs viennent du milieu étudiant, 20% à 30% des milieux professionnels, fonctionnaire ou intellectuel, et 10% environ du milieu ouvrier. La moitié des abonnés est de Montréal, l'autre moitié de l'extérieur de la ville. La vente par le distributeur semble indiquer que les deux tiers sont à Montréal et le tiers à l'extérieur.

Ils sont conscients que leur revue touche un milieu restreint et spécifique. Mais le fait qu'ils font une revue "politique et culturelle" et le ton qu'ils lui ont donné devaient nécessairement produire un tel effet. Ils n'en sont donc pas surpris, les choses étant ce qu'ils ont voulu qu'elles soient. Ils n'entendent changer ni l'allure, ni le contexte de la revue.

Il demeure qu'ils entendent, un jour ou l'autre, atteindre un public plus considérable et que pour le faire ils songent sérieusement à lancer un journal qui sera plus populaire dans sa présentation. Il ne se passera peut-être pas beaucoup de temps avant que nous ne voyons apparaître un mensuel puis un hebdomadaire.

Notons aussi que l'équipe de Parti Pris a l'intention de fonder sa propre agence de nouvelles dont le but serait d'alimenter les pays étrangers sur les nouvelles et les



événements survenus au Canada, tels qu'interprétés par eux.

### Parti Pris et les Autres Revues

Parti Pris fait bande à part au sein des mouvements indépendantistes, dans ce sens que son idéologie l'éloigne des autres mouvements. Ses membres sont à l'extrême gauche. La collaboration n'est donc pas facile avec les autres mouvements d'autant plus que ce sont des "purs" c'est-à-dire qu'ils croient à l'intégrité de leur doctrine. Les rapports auraient donc été officieux et sporadiques. Ils participent à certaines rencontres, à quelques manifestations. Ils interviennent parfois mais sur un plan qui semble tactique avant tout.

C'est ainsi qu'ils publient dans le numéro de décembre 1963 le programme de Pierre Bourgault. Pourquoi? D'abord parce qu'ils appuient la tendance Bourgault contre la tendance Pouliot. Ensuite parce que c'est une excellente occasion de pénétrer le RIN (Bourgault y étant influent) et d'y recruter des abonnés.

Il a été très peu question du FRI et du FLQ. Le premier mouvement issu du PRQ de Marcel Chaput, après que celui-ci eut abandonné son parti, s'est définitivement orienté à gauche. On soupçonne donc les relations "assez naturelles" entre les deux groupes, de même qu'avec La Cognée (présumément journal clandestin du FLQ) dont Parti Pris



de février '64 publiait une lettre accompagnée de la photo de Jean-Jacques Lanciault, présumé dononciateur du FLQ.

Mais on ne désire pas de regroupement des forces séparatistes dont le but serait d'obtenir l'indépendance au plus tôt. Certains sentent qu'un tel regroupement en vue de la seule indépendance présenterait d'éventuels dangers sur le plan de la doctrine. Cependant, on est prêt à collaborer sur des objectifs bien précis: par exemple à une campagne dont le but serait d'instaurer l'unilinguisme dans la province de Québec.

Enfin le PSQ n'existe plus. Selon eux, celui-ci serait disparu au moment où ils ont démissionné du parti. Leur démission était motivée à cause de l'option "Etats associés" qui était celle du PSQ, celui-ci s'étant formé par une scission du NPD - Québec à cause des positions "fédérales" du parti.

Il ne semble pas que Parti Pris soit prêt à participer à un "front indépendantiste". Un "front de gauche" ou une espèce de "front populaire" ne fait pas l'unité des membres de l'équipe: certains le favoriseraient, d'autres pas.

Certains membres de l'équipe croient que la seule action vraiment efficace est celle qui permettra à la revue de se forger une solide doctrine politique reposant sur une connaissance scientifique des problèmes québécois. Lorsque





Parti Pris aura mis cette doctrine au point, lorsqu'elle aura mis en place ses cadres (clubs Parti Pris, journal mensuel ou hebdomadaire, agence de nouvelles, etc...), l'équipe pourra se permettre de noyauter un parti politique important, (par exemple le parti libéral) ou encore de se transformer en parti politique.

L'attitude ici demeure floue: on ne sait pas au juste ce que l'on fera et comment on le fera. Mais le problème est posé.

### La Doctrine de la revue

L'analyse de la revue -- et certains membres de l'équipe le disaient en toutes lettres -- permet de dire que la doctrine qui anime l'équipe est le socialisme, le laïcisme n'étant qu'une incidence et l'indépendance un préalable.

Qu'entendent-ils par socialisme? "Ce n'est pas", dit l'un d'eux, "la sociale-démocratie, c'est-à-dire la sécurité sociale pour tous. Ce que nous entendons c'est, au niveau des responsabilités, un contrôle sur les moyens de production, une participation réelle à l'économie". A un autre moment on a mentionné l'expérience tchécoslovaque comme exemple de ce que l'on vise. On insiste toujours pour indiquer que si on est marxistes-léninistes on est aussi des révisionnistes en ce sens que l'on sent la nécessité d'adapter la doctrine aux lieux, aux temps et aux circonstances.





Les membres de l'équipe ne sont donc pas des "orthodoxes". Le même qui plus haut nous définissait le socialisme de Parti Pris nous explique le sens de la non-orthodoxie de l'équipe. "La notion de classe domine la théorie marxiste: tout s'explique par l'existence des classes, le conflit des classes et tout va se résoudre par la domination d'une classe sur les autres. A Parti Pris on accorde une grande importance à l'aspect national, une importance aussi grande qu'à la notion de classe -- dans le sens qu'une nation peut en dominer une autre -- car elle a un aspect structural presque aussi fort qu'une classe". Tout ceci demeure assez vague pour l'instant car les études -- des anthropologues américains ou européens, ceux de la décolonisation Fanon, Memmi, Berque -- ne sont guère avancées et précises.

Est-il possible de savoir comment on est arrivé à être socialiste, puis indépendantiste? Il semble que ça ait été essentiellement par réaction. "En 1960-61 nous lisons Cité Libre qui combat d'une façon globaliste le duplessisme. Cité Libre le fait sans conception de l'histoire ou de la société. Quand nous avons commencé à penser par nous-mêmes, nous sommes devenus socialistes. Nous avons vu que le socialisme ne pouvait pas avant un million d'années s'établir 'from coast to coast'... alors nous avons pensé de le faire au Québec. A ce moment nous sommes arrivés à l'indépendance."



### L'idée de l'Indépendance

L'idée de l'indépendance s'est répandue avec une rapidité relative. L'explication je l'ai demandée à "A", à "D" et aux membres de la revue.

"Grosso-modo" on se rejoint. L'émergence d'une nouvelle classe capable de participer aux décisions économiques mais qui ne peut le faire parce que toute la place est occupée par d'autres. Ces "autres" sont non seulement les membres de la classe capitaliste, mais aussi les représentants de la nation anglo-saxonne. "La mort de Duplessis a provoqué un renouvellement complet" note l'un d'entre eux et il poursuit en disant: "Il y a une espèce d'inter-action entre l'indépendance et les revendications sociales -- économiques qui poussent en avant l'idée d'indépendance".

### Réalisation de l'Indépendance

L'indépendance se fera dans la légalité: non seulement le croit-on à Parti Pris mais on désire qu'il en soit ainsi. "Sauf", remarque l'un d'entre eux, "si la répression (et il rappelle le "samedi de la matraque") devenait telle qu'elle obligerait en quelque sorte l'utilisation de la violence qui deviendrait alors nécessaire voire utile."

Sinon, on croit que le parti libéral du Québec -- ou une fraction de celui-ci -- ne pourra faire autrement d'ici quelques années que de négocier la sécession de la



province de Québec du reste du Canada. Trop de forces y poussent, trop de situations se créent qui y mènent imperceptiblement mais sûrement.

L'un d'entre eux mentionnera l'indépendance par analogie: ailleurs -- la Communauté française en constitue un bon exemple -- des situations provoquant des liens de plus en plus lâches ont mené à l'indépendance totale. Le Québec se séparera peu à peu dans les faits jusqu'au moment où l'indépendance sera fatale. Fatale au point que si M. Lesage s'y refusait, le parti libéral se scinderait. Les libéraux provinciaux séparatistes, dirigés probablement par M. René Lévesque, s'empareraient du parti.

C'est, croit-on à Parti Pris, la probabilité la plus logique à l'heure actuelle. Sans doute des situations peuvent se développer qui imprimeraient aux événements une toute autre orientation. Chose certaine on ne veut pas de révolution armée du type algérien ou cubain. On ne croit d'ailleurs pas que la nécessité y obligera jamais.





Annex I

Revolutionary Theory

in

Les damnés de la terre

and

Parti Pris

by

Charles Barker



## Introduction

This study was undertaken to determine points of comparison and contrast between the theories of Franz Fanon and Paul Chamberland and to provide an indication of possible areas of influence of Fanon on Chamberland. There was also the desire to describe in a general way the kinds of theories popular among intellectuals close to Parti Pris.

The choice of Les damnés de la terre for detailed study was made for three reasons. First, Fanon's book is widely recognized as a major work on the Algerian Revolution and on Tiers-Monde revolution in general. Professor Clairmonte of Léopoldville has noted:

There can be little doubt of the seminal influence of Fanon's ideas not only in Algeria, but equally in all of francophonic Africa. Les damnés de la terre has become a standard work; its niche in the annals of revolutionary literature is secure.<sup>1</sup>

A second reason for an analysis of the Fanon book lies in the preliminary results of Professor Dozois' study of the Parti Pris group. Thirdly, one of the editors of Parti Pris

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<sup>1</sup> Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 30, No. 1, p. 137 (Feb. 1964).



makes special reference to Fanon.<sup>2</sup>

The selected Chamberland article, "De la damnation à la liberté", appeared in the special edition of Parti Pris which was published in the summer of 1964 on the subject of the "Portrait du colonisé québécois". The article was chosen from this number of Parti Pris since it seemed that the editors were attempting on this occasion to set down their political ideology in a comprehensive way. The Chamberland article itself was selected out of the seven articles on the colonized Quebecker because it was by far the longest (37 pages out of a total of 90) and because, as the final article, it gave the appearance of a résumé or conclusion for the whole.

The study is based solely on Les damnés de la terre by Fanon and "De la damnation à la liberté" by Chamberland. Both texts were analyzed closely with a view to the objectives of general description and comparaison and contrast.

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<sup>2</sup>

Parti Pris été 1964 no. 9-11. pp. 83 & 89.



## The Overview

Many similarities appear in the basic ideology of Fanon and Chamberland. The focus in both cases is on the corrupt colonial world and the process by which this world is transformed through decolonization. The decolonization process is a standard frame of reference for Fanon and Chamberland. As long as colonialism exists, the world is divided into two camps, the camp of those who dominate and exploit the world and the camp of those who are dominated and exploited.

Le monde colonisé est un monde coupé en deux  
(colon et colonisé). (Fanon)<sup>3</sup>

L'univers canadien est en fait plus qu'un  
univers scindé en deux, c'est un monde  
bicéphale. (Chamberland)<sup>4</sup>

The colonial world is not stable in the long run. It is plagued by contradictions and corruption, and eventually evokes a movement which destroys it. Decolonization, or the destruction of the colonial world, proceeds by slow and painful stages. Decolonization involves a long and bloody war of national liberation. Implied is a total revamping of the structures of society. Old structures must be

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<sup>3</sup> Les damnés de la terre, p. 31

<sup>4</sup> Parti Pris été 1964, p. 66.





dismantled and entirely new ones built in their place. The whole process of decolonization, and all the sacrifices involved, are made with a single aim, the realization of a new and better man and society.

Table I (page 183) presents a simple model representing the basic ideas on the decolonization process of both writers. The colonial world, on the left, gives way to the world in process of decolonization, centre, which in turn eventually gives way to the ideal world, right.

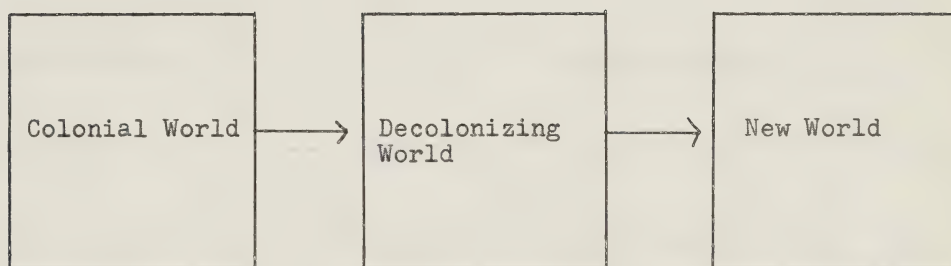
Even if the basic frame of reference of both writers is the same, a number of important variations can be noted. For Fanon, the colonial world is not the original world, or starting point. A pre-colonial world existed in the past (Table 2, page 184). This was the period before the colonialists arrived to enslave the native peoples. It was a happy time when the native peoples were free and lived in an environment which suited them well. This world contrasts sharply with the ugly and perverted world of colonialism. The pre-colonial state does have important implications; it is the memories of the pre-colonial state which stimulate opposition to the colonial masters and help to preserve the national culture and identity of the colonized people.

For Chamberland, on the other hand, there is no pre-colonial period. The colonial period is the starting point,



Table I The Decolonization Process<sup>1</sup>

(Fanon and Chamberland)

Inherent  
ContradictionsSome  
Contradictions  
Remain

Ideal World

Change Forced

Change still  
Forced

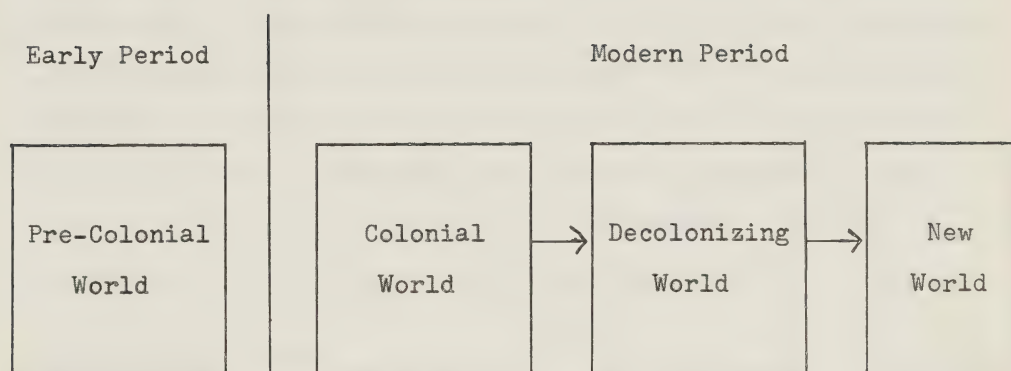
Stability

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<sup>1</sup> This table, and the others following, was designed by this writer and is not to be found as such in the texts of Fanon and Chamberland.



Table 2    The Early and the Modern Periods for Fanon







though there may be more than one colonial phase and more than one set of colonial masters before the decolonization process sets in.

Another variation in the basic views of the two writers arises from an affirmation by Chamberland that a second possibility, other than decolonization does exist. For Chamberland, the decolonization process is not absolutely inevitable. Colonialism may result in the cultural extinction of the oppressed people (Table 3, page 186). The prolonged domination by the colonialists may bring about the slow death of the colonial culture and the complete absorption by the people of the culture of the colonial masters. Such a possibility is not directly envisaged by Fanon.

### The Colonial State

The basic descriptions of the colonial state are similar in Fanon and Chamberland (See Tables 4 and 5, pages 187-188). At the top of the colonial structure is a colonizing power. This power has an outside base. It is reinforced by the support of international cartels. On the local level, inside the territory itself, the colonizing power established a group of expatriate colonialists and capitalists which dominates the native society. Some classes of this society collaborate with the expatriate groups. The



Table 3    The Possibility of Cultural Extinction  
(Chamberland)

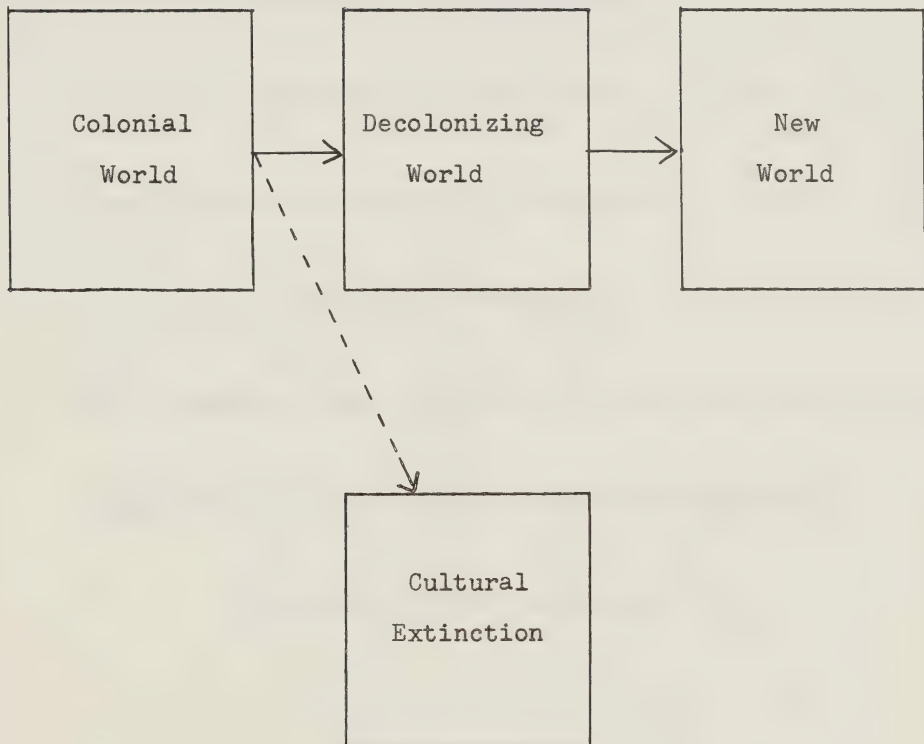




Table 4 Fanon's State of Colonialism

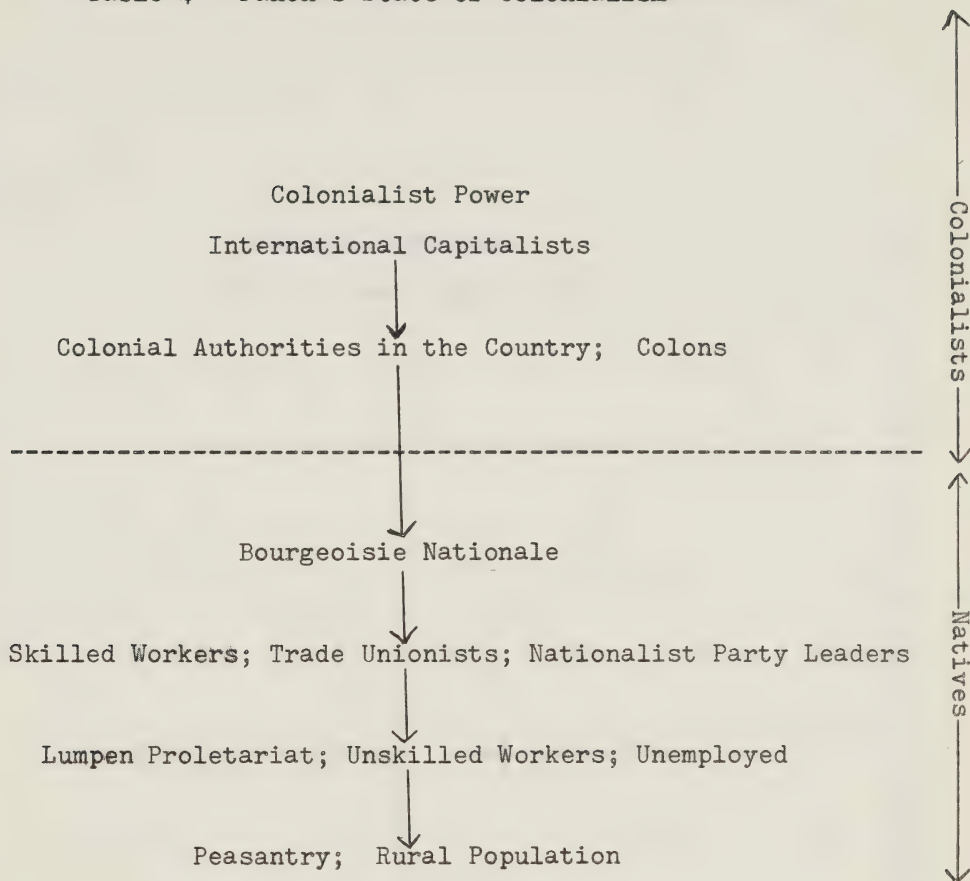
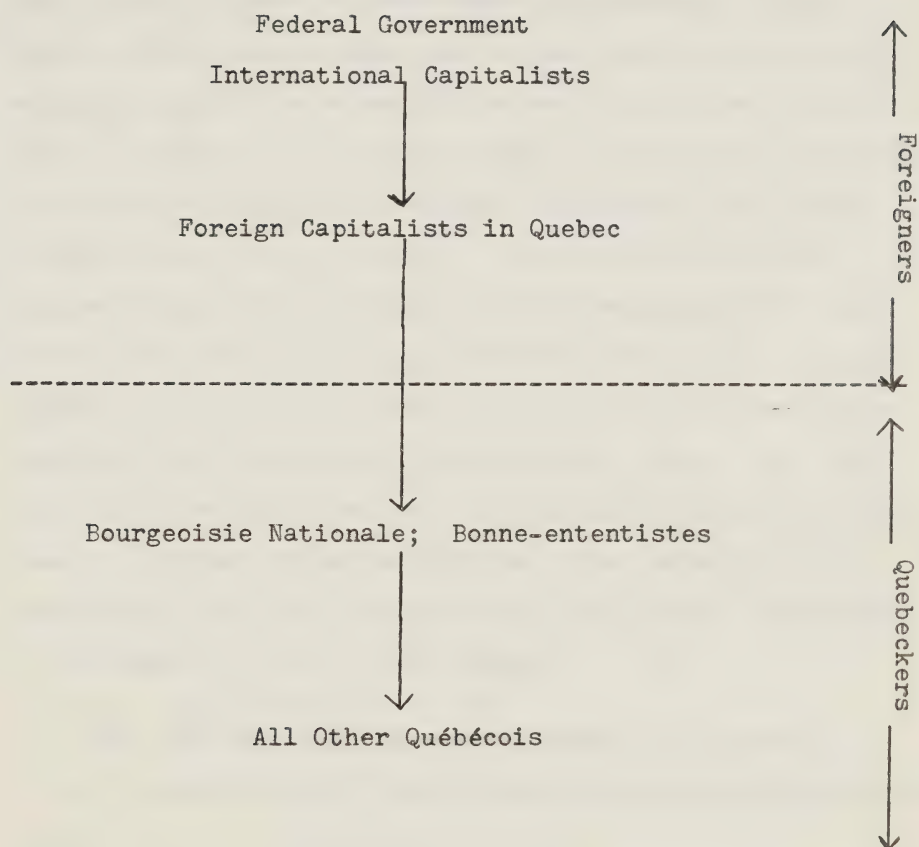




Table 5 Chamberland's State of Colonialism







native bourgeoisie in particular becomes the lackey of the international capitalists. The vast majority of the native population is exploited by the colonialists and capitalists.

Despite the fact that Fanon and Chamberland share many basic views of colonialism, there are differences. The Fanon theory is much clearer and more elaborate. Fanon makes a distinction between on the one hand the expatriate colonial authorities whose duties are the maintenance of the colonial rule and on the other hand the expatriate capitalists. Fanon also separates the national bourgeoisie from various categories of skilled workers. There are more diverse classes singled out in Fanon than in Chamberland, and each of these is seen as playing a distinct role in the colonial society. At the lowest levels, Fanon distinguishes between unskilled city workers and the peasants, for he feels that the latter are even more seriously exploited than the former. However, Chamberland notes only two broad categories of Quebeckers; those who are relatively well-to-do, essentially the bourgeoisie, and all the others.

Both Fanon and Chamberland condemn the inhumanity of the colonial world. Fanon's descriptions are particularly vivid:

Aux colonies, l'interlocuteur valable et institutionnel du colonisé, le porte-parole



du colon et du régime d'oppression est le gendarme ou le soldat.<sup>5</sup>

La ville du colonisé, ou du moins la ville indigène, le village nègre, la médina, la réserve est un lieu mal famé, peuplé d'hommes mal famés. On y naît n'importe où, n'importe comment. On y meurt n'importe où, n'importe comment. <sup>6</sup>

Chamberland's descriptions of the colonial state are less lucid. They are framed more in psychological terms than in concrete, physical pictures.

Une communauté qui se voit imposer du dehors les modes et les structures de son activité économique (maîtrise sur les choses), est livrée sans défense à la désintégration de ses propres valeurs, humaines et culturelles.<sup>7</sup>

Fanon experiences colonialism in a direct, physical way; Chamberland stresses a less direct type of colonialism which may be termed cultural.

Both writers feel strongly that colonialism has deleterious effects on the cultural and intellectual development of the native population. The civilization of the colonialist

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<sup>5</sup> (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> (Chamberland) Parti Pris, p. 73.



is imposed on the country; native culture and thought is stifled. The native population lives in a world which is not its own, and the morale of the population is low. The colonialists downgrade the native people and their culture. Fanon, in particular, notes this:

Le colonialisme, qui n'a pas nuancé ses efforts, n'a cessé d'affirmer que le nègre est un sauvage ...<sup>8</sup>

As a result of this colonial state, there is a serious weakening of the native culture. Chamberland speaks of the possibility of a "génocide culturel".<sup>9</sup> Both writers speak of the general weakening at some length:

Au bout d'un ou deux siècles d'exploitation se produit une véritable émaciation du panorama culturel national ...<sup>10</sup> (Fanon)

Sur le plan culturel, nous sommes une communauté dépersonnalisée ...<sup>11</sup> (Chamberland)

Both writers consider the colonial society as stilted and incomplete and the colonized man as a frustrated individual. The institutions of the society are ill-adapted to the needs of the people. Since the people cannot achieve

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<sup>8</sup> (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup> (Chamberland) Parti Pris, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, p. 178

<sup>11</sup> (Chamberland) Parti Pris, p. 72





their normal development or fulfill themselves in the existing society, they must seek other outlets, other fields of endeavour.

Pour assurer son salut, pour échapper à la suprémacie de la culture blanche, le colonisé sent la nécessité de revenir vers des racines ignorées, de se perdre, advienne que pourra, dans ce peuple barbare.<sup>12</sup> (Fanon)

A défaut d'une libération authentique et effective de notre société, au moyen de luttes politiques et sociales, le Canadien français moyen s'est forgé des exutoires efficaces, inoffensifs et dirigés vers l'imaginaire...<sup>13</sup>

Chamberland would suggest that these outlets or escapes, such as an escape into the past, can serve as a defence mechanism against a hostile society:

Notre fuite dans le passé, dans la légende, n'a été qu'un mécanisme névrotique d'auto-défense contre l'envahissement du présent anglo-saxon.<sup>14</sup>

Both writers affirm that the frustrations of the colonial man may bring about disturbing conditions. Fanon speaks about the individual's excessive external passivity

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<sup>12</sup> (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, p. 163

<sup>13</sup> (Chamberland) Parti Pris, p. 77

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 70.





resulting in violent dreams:

La première chose que l'indigène apprend, c'est de rester à sa place, à ne pas dépasser les limites. C'est pourquoi les rêves de l'indigène sont des rêves musculaires, des rêves d'action, des rêves agressifs.<sup>15</sup>

But the internalization of the frustrations may bring about even more disturbing results:

En intériorisant les forces qui nous désintégraient - par lâcheté ou par impuissance - nous avons changé le ressentiment contre l'autre en culpabilité (haine de soi), transformé la révolte et le désir de liberté (instinct de vie) en soumission masochiste et en délire de persécution (instinct de mort).<sup>16</sup> (Chamberland).

Both writers stress that the colonial people tend to idealize and fear their masters at the same time. There is a climate of self-disrespect and even self-hate among the colonized people.

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One aspect of the theory of colonialism is particular to Chamberland. This is the theory of majority-minority relationships. Chamberland suggests that there are three types of majority-minority relationships (see Table 6, page 194). First, there is a marginal majority-minority

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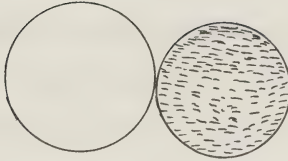
<sup>15</sup> (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> Parti Pris, p. 67.

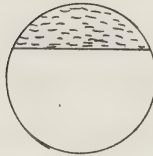


Table 6 Majority-Minority Relationships (Chamberland)

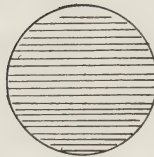
Case I



Case 2



Case 3



Case I: The majority-minority relationship is marginal only.

Case 2: Though the majority-minority relationship is much in evidence, both groups constitute distinct and essential parts of the whole.

Case 3: The majority-minority relationship is predominant. The minority is completely dominated by the majority; it has no existence by itself as it simply takes on the form of the majority.



relationship in which two groups make up one overall society but in which the relationship of majority-minority is of secondary importance. In this case, each group tends to constitute a distinct community. Secondly, two groups may form definite parts of a closely knit unit in which, though the majority-minority relationship exists and is important, it is not dominant because the groups are distinct and each forms an essential part of the whole. Finally, in a third case, the majority-minority relationship predominates in the relations between two groups. Here is a true state of colonialism. The majority shapes the society according to its particular needs even if this involves acting counter to vital interests of the minority. The minority is oppressed. A foreign culture and civilization is forced upon the minority, which is in danger of becoming assimilated or bastardized by the influence of the other culture. The minority being becomes an alienated being:

L'être minoritaire est un être de relation; il ne se comprend que par l'existence de son corrélat, l'être majoritaire.<sup>17</sup> (Chamberland)

La condition de minoritaire est essentiellement aliénante. Le minoritaire est un être scindé: il voudrait à la fois son être propre, conserver sa spécificité et participer, comme partenaire égal, à la réalisation d'une société dont le caractère est déterminé, presque exclusivement par le majoritaire.<sup>18</sup> (Chamberland)

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 60

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 63.



There is little doubt that the problem of majority-minority relationships is important for Chamberland. The overall theory of colonialism is closely related to the concepts of majority-minority relations.

### Decolonization: Early Stages

Decolonization is a subject central to the writings of both Fanon and Chamberland. It is the crucial second stage of development (See Table I, page 183) during which the colonial society disintegrates and finally gives way to a new and better world. Decolonization involves total change. A complete revolution is necessarily implied:

La décolonisation, qui se propose de changer l'ordre du monde, est un programme de désordre absolu.<sup>19</sup> (Fanon)

La révolution incarne, comme lutte sociale et politique, la rébellion d'un fondamental refoulé, l'irrépressible sursaut des énergies d'un peuple asservi à un ordre qui les dilapide.<sup>20</sup> (Chamberland)

If the basic notion of decolonization is common to both writers, there remain differences in their formulations of the process itself. Fanon's book is a comprehensive treatise on decolonization. It includes descriptions of the

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<sup>19</sup> Les damnés de la terre, p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> Parti Pris, p. 57.





reasons underlying the early growth of revolutionary movements, their make-up, their development, their conflicts with the colonial authorities, as well as many other particular aspects of decolonization both in theory and in terms of actual developments in Algeria and other parts of Africa. On the other hand, Chamberland's views on decolonization are not clearly set forth.

The Reasons for Decolonization: Though neither writer mentions specifically the reasons for the rise of the decolonization movements, several points are common to both. The colonial state is full of contradictions. The colonial man is not well adjusted to his society and he is full of frustrations. This creates an unstable situation. Change must come:

La nécessité de ce changement existe à l'état brut, impétueux et contraignant, dans la conscience et dans la vie des hommes et des femmes colonisés. <sup>21</sup> (Fanon)

The changes come because the people are determined to put an end to their colonial existence. Both writers affirm that a general awakening takes hold of the people. This awakening takes many forms:

Aller, venir, entendre des discours, voir le peuple réuni, les policiers autour, les démonstrations militaires, les arrestations,

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<sup>21</sup> Les damnés de la terre, p. 29.



les déportations des leaders - tout ce remue-ménage donne au peuple l'impression que le moment est venu, pour lui, de faire quelque chose. 22 (Fanon)

La décolonisation n'a jamais été un mouvement fondé sur des raisons analytiques: elle fut le résultat d'une décision globale. 23 (Chamberland)

Part of the reason for the determination of the people to throw off the colonial shackles lies in the unacceptable physical conditions. Further, there is the threat to the culture of the people. The reawakening and the revolution are the means through which the culture can be saved. This culture serves to stimulate the people to revolution. This is particularly evident in Chamberland, but can also be found in Fanon:

Ce qui est en jeu, c'est l'existence même d'un peuple, d'une culture. 24 (Chamberland)

Il faut signaler également le rôle que joue, dans ce phénomène de maturation, l'histoire de la résistance nationale à la conquête. 25 (Fanon)

Related to the question of cultural survival is the minority problem. Decolonization provides for the freeing of the suppressed minority being, and this is a basic desire of the colonized minority. This aspect is particular to

22 Ibid. p. 52.

23 Parti Pris, p. 55.

24 Ibid. p. 82.

25 Les damnés de la terre, p. 52.



Chamberland.

J'interprète ce motif fondamental (de la lutte de libération nationale et de décolonisation) en termes de suppression de notre être minoritaire, désintégré, et d'instauration d'un être intégré, unifié, identifié, c'est-à-dire maître de sa terre maître des choses et de ses activités.<sup>26</sup>

Fanon goes deeper than Chamberland in his descriptions of the early stages of the decolonization process. Fanon evolves a systematic theory of the beginnings of revolutionary activities among the colonial people.

Revolutionary activities first appear in the countryside. The peasants are the most oppressed of all segments of the population. They are thus violently dissatisfied. It is also the peasantry which keeps the original culture of the people alive. Whereas in the cities the native culture may have almost completely disappeared because of the colonialists' influence, the culture will endure much longer in rural areas. This culture galvanizes the peasants to action. The revolutionary activities gradually spread to almost all the people. The urban revolutionaries may be driven out of the cities controlled by the colonialist troops and police, but the rebels can find refuge in the countryside and the hills of the interior (Algeria).

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<sup>26</sup> (Chamberland) Parti Pris, p. 80.





The early part of the revolution involves tremendous sacrifice on the part of the colonial population. The revolutionaries suffer great losses at the hands of the army and the police. However, the revolts spread and become more and more general. Stories of martyred heroes inspire the people with new determination, and the colonialist authorities gradually lose control of the country.

### Decolonization: Later Stages

Fanon and Chamberland differ in their treatment of the later stages of decolonization. Fanon goes into the analysis of these stages in detail. Much of his writing is devoted to the description of this period. Chamberland, however, refers to this period in a very vague and sketchy manner. There is relatively little comment on the later stages in Chamberland, not because these stages are not important but because they do not appear near at hand.

Fanon: Problems in the Later Stages: Fanon observes that new problems arise in the advanced stages of revolution. Once the revolutionary activity becomes serious, there are reactions against the revolution by those whose vested interests are being endangered. The army and police are reinforced, and uprisings are put down with cruelty and thoroughness. On the other hand, the authorities may offer





compromises to try to convince at least some portion of the colonial population to cooperate with them. The colonial authorities seize every chance to divide the people in order to make the occupation of the country easier:

Le colonialisme utilise sans vergogne toutes ces ficelles, trop heureux de dresser les uns contre les autres (les peuples colonisés). 27

Perhaps even more violent than the reaction of the authorities is the reaction of the "colons". As those colonialists who reside permanently in the colony, the "colons" are deeply disturbed by the course of events. They are utterly opposed to the revolution.

Some native interests are jeopardized by the changes. Certain segments of the native population attempt to avert the all-out war and look for compromise solutions. Prime among these is the national bourgeoisie. The bourgeois expounds the doctrine of non-violence, and in this he is aided by religion. The national bourgeoisie attempts to use the revolution for its own ends, relying on the demands of the patriots to obtain for itself a good bargaining position vis-à-vis the colonial authorities and the international capitalists. The bourgeoisie may even group

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<sup>27</sup> (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, p. 121.



itself into a nationalist party and proclaim independence. However, this independence will be nominal only; the basic structures will not have been changed, and the colonialists and their puppets, the national bourgeoisie, will continue to exploit the country:

La bourgeoisie nationale va se complaire, sans complexes et en toute dignité, dans le rôle d'agent d'affaires de la bourgeoisie occidentale.<sup>28</sup>

Even a great leader who wins independence from the colonialists can still fall prisoner to the bourgeoisie and a concealed type of colonialism may ensue. This is liable to occur if there has not been a complete transformation of the structures of society.

Le leader, qui a derrière lui une vie de militant et de patriote dévoué ... constitue un écran entre le peuple et la bourgeoisie rapace. Il contribue à freiner la prise de conscience du peuple. <sup>29</sup>

Political parties are another element attempting to maintain the existing society. These parties tend to group those who benefit in one way or another from the colonial society. Among these are the skilled workers who are well

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 116.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 126.



paid by the colonialists.

Quelles sont les forces qui, dans la période coloniale, proposent à la violence du colonisé de nouvelles voies, de nouveaux pôles d'investissements? Ce sont d'abord les partis politiques et les élites intellectuelles ou commerciales.<sup>30</sup>

The trade unions, too, will be against the revolution. Their members are too well remunerated in the colonial society to risk violence; they have too much to lose.

Chamberland: Problems in the Later Stages: Chamberland's views on the later stages of the Revolution are unclear, but there are a number of problems to which he devotes some attention. First, the bourgeoisie represents a real centre of opposition to any significant changes. The national bourgeoisie is prosperous and has too many relations with outside capitalists to permit radical new departures. Even independence, if brought about by the bourgeoisie, would involve the maintenance of the existing colonial society:

Une indépendance "bourgeoise" signifie, en pratique, le maintien presque total de ce qui est le statu quo actuel. <sup>31</sup>

Besides the bourgeoisie, there are a few other groups which oppose the revolution. Among these are bon-ententistes, intellectuals, journalists, and certain university people.

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 45

<sup>31</sup> (Chamberland) Parti Pris, p. 86.



Chamberland perceives another problem in connection with colonial nationalism. Nationalism in the colonial period is traditionally oriented. It is a reflection of the alienation of the native people from their society and is misdirected and irresponsible.

Le nationalisme canadien-français (traditionnel) fut l'expression aiguë, exacerbée, de notre fuite devant la responsabilité historique, de notre peur de la liberté et de la lutte, l'expression détestable d'un mécontentement paresseux et satisfait de son incessante purulence. 32

This misdirected nationalism must somehow be transformed into a responsible and progressive nationalism which will further the freedom and independence of the community.

Violence and Revolution: Both writers espouse revolution as the only solution to the problems of the colonial society. Extreme measures are needed, as the whole of society must be transformed. However, the writers differ somewhat on the means to be used. Fanon recommends violence and justifies its use in explicit terms; Chamberland does not openly take position on the question of violence, although violence seems implied. Fanon affirms that violence is the means through which the masses are made aware of the realities of colonialism and the possibilities of decolonization:

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 81.





Seule la violence exercée par le peuple, violence organisée et éclairée par la direction permet aux masses de déchiffrer la réalité sociale, lui en donne la clef. 33

Chamberland stresses the need for revolution:

Il n'existe pas de solution fragmentaire: si l'existence canadienne, pour nous, signifie la négation de notre être, la débilitation incessante de notre "réalité", il n'existe pas de "solution" économique, sociale ou autre ailleurs que dans ce que j'appelle la révolution ... 34

Violence and the revolution for Fanon necessitate a total commitment. This is the only way that the revolution can be brought about. Violence has far reaching and beneficial effects both on the revolutionary group and on the individuals.

Mais il se trouve que pour le peuple colonisé cette violence, parce qu'elle constitue son seul travail, revêt des caractères positifs, formateurs. 35

L'homme colonisé se libère dans et par la violence. Cette praxis illumine l'agent parce qu'elle lui indique les moyens et la fin. 36

The International Scene: Both writers see the struggle of oppressed people for freedom from colonialism and exploitation as one of the major trends in international politics. There is a notable world division between rich

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33 (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, pp 109-10

34 (Chamberland) Parti Pris, p. 57.

35 (Fanon) Les damnés de la terre, p. 69.

36 Ibid. p. 64.



and poor peoples. There is also a confrontation between socialist and capitalist countries. It is into such a world of conflicts and divisions that the new nations are being born. Fanon states that Europe is rich and corrupt, and that the European countries have been responsible for introducing the colonial system into many parts of the world. The Tiers-Monde, above all, must free itself from European influence.

### The New Society

Both Fanon and Chamberland paint a picture of their ultimate goals. Their goal is a better society which, divest of the many contradictions of colonialism, would produce a better man. This society would be open, free, and egalitarian. It would be extremely productive and the major needs of the people, so long neglected, would be fulfilled. The culture of the people is in harmony, not conflict, with the socio-economic make-up of society. The people are now perfectly adapted to their surroundings. In addition, they are politically aware. Fanon notes the importance of this political awareness:

Politiquer c'est ouvrir l'esprit, c'est  
éveiller l'esprit, mettre au monde l'esprit. 37

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37 Ibid. p. 146.



Everything in the new society depends on the people:

Si nous stagnons c'est de leur (les masses)  
faute et ... si nous avançons, c'est aussi  
de leur faute ... il n'y a pas de démiurge ...  
il n'y a pas d'homme illustre et responsable  
de tout, mais ... le démiurge c'est le peuple  
et ... les mains magiciennes ne sont en  
définitive que les mains du peuple. (Fanon) 38

The blossoming of a national culture and a collective conscience is fundamental to the new society foreseen by both Fanon and Chamberland. This concept is undeveloped in Chamberland, but Fanon elaborates fully on this point.

The new nation grows with the struggles of the people for freedom and a better life:

L'expression vivante de la nation c'est la  
conscience en mouvement de l'ensemble du  
peuple. 39 (Fanon)

The national consciousness on which the nation is based is the new culture:

La conscience nationale est la forme la plus  
élaborée de la culture. 40 (Fanon)

And the goals of the new culture are the furtherance of the interests of the nation, in particular the final victory over the remnants of colonialism:

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38 Ibid.

39 Ibid. p. 141.

40 Ibid. p. 184.



La culture nationale est l'ensemble des efforts faits par un peuple sur le plan de la pensée pour décrire, justifier et chanter l'action à travers laquelle le peuple s'est constitué et s'est maintenu.<sup>41</sup>  
(Fanon)

The nation and the culture cannot have separate existences:

La nation n'est pas seulement condition de la culture, de son effervescence, de son renouvellement continué, de son approfondissement. Elle est aussi une exigence.<sup>42</sup>  
(Fanon)

Both Fanon and Chamberland affirm that the new society will be socialist in its orientation. It will be preoccupied with the welfare of the masses and will put an end to the evils of capitalism.

Le choix d'un régime socialiste, d'un régime tout entier tourné vers l'ensemble du peuple, basé sur le principe que l'homme est le bien le plus précieux, nous permettra d'aller plus vite, plus harmonieusement, rendant de ce fait impossible cette caricature de société où quelques-uns détiennent l'ensemble des pouvoirs économiques et politiques au mépris de la totalité nationale. <sup>43</sup> (Fanon)

Le socialisme constitue l'ensemble d'une pensée et d'une pratique politique et sociale, de méthodes et de techniques qui informent le triomphe des classes populaires sur les minorités exploitrices, l'accomplissement d'une société pensée par et en fonction du peuple. <sup>44</sup>  
(Chamberland)

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid. pp. 174-5.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 183

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. p. 74

<sup>44</sup> Parti Pris, p. 85







Chamberland sees socialism and national liberation as two essential aspects of the process of decolonization. The introduction of socialism should follow immediately after national liberation. National liberation and socialism are both prerequisites of the new society.

The new society of Fanon and Chamberland is open. Despite the fact that it is closely connected with the nation, the new society permits a much closer relationship with the outside world than was possible under the colonial régime:

La conscience nationale ... est la seule à nous donner dimension internationale. 45  
(Fanon)

La lutte de la libération nationale signifie précisément la suppression de l'isolement dans lequel nous plonge la situation canadienne. 46 (Chamberland)

The new society does not live for itself alone. There is a messianic overtone to the revolutionary ideology, particularly of Fanon. The new society, once created in the colonial country (Algeria), must do everything in its power to aid other colonial peoples in their struggles for freedom. The new nation has a responsibility to neighboring countries (on the African continent), to the Tiers-Monde, and to all of humanity. The hope is that the malpractices of the past may be eliminated throughout the world.

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45 Les damnés de la terre, p. 184.

46 Parti Pris, p. 83.



The final objective of all the revolutionary movements is the building of the new society and the creation of a new and better man. The final goal is thus a humanistic one. This humanistic aspect appears very clearly and is at the base of the writings of both men.

(La décolonisation) introduit dans l'être un rythme propre, apporté par les nouveaux hommes, un nouveau langage, une nouvelle humanité. 47 (Fanon)

Voilà les valeurs qu'engage la lutte de libération nationale. Pouvoir, santé et liberté. En un mot, humanité. 48 (Chamberland)

It is the new man which is the distinguishing characteristic of the new society.

### Conclusions

In summarizing the conclusions, it was necessary to note that Fanon's Les damnés de la terre is a major revolutionary manifesto while that of Chamberland simply a long article in a review. The comparisons and contrasts should then be placed in the necessary perspective. Fanon's work is both abstract, in that it presents a complete revolutionary theory, and practical as well, for it puts

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47 Les damnés de la terre, p. 30.

48 Parti Pris, p. 80.



forward a revolutionary programme and an analysis of the situation in Algeria and elsewhere. Chamberland's article is in this sense very practical, as it is closely tied to the Quebec situation and contains relatively few abstractions.

There are four points of comparison in the theories of the two writers. First, there is a movement or dialectic which is similar. Each writer tends to use as his frame of reference the movement of decolonization. Decolonization is seen as the process by which the community moves from a state of colonialism to the new society.

Secondly, the points of departure of both writers are similar. The point of departure is the state of colonialism, and there are strong parallels in the ways in which this state is defined. Under the colonial régime, man is alienated from himself. Man is exploited by other men. There are many contradictions in the colonial society.

Thirdly, the transitional period of decolonization is viewed in similar ways by the two writers. During decolonization, a revolution takes place. Colonialists and capitalists are removed from their positions of power. Sweeping reforms are made.

Fourthly, the end points are visualized in comparable manners. A new society is created in which man is in harmony with his fellows and with his economic and social environment.





The differences between the theories of Fanon and Chamberland are numerous, but two appear especially important. First, Chamberland introduces the theory of majority-minority relationships and relates this theory to the broader concepts of colonialism. There is little or no reference to problems of majorities and minorities in Fanon. Secondly, Chamberland suggests the possibility of cultural extinction - the disappearance of the colonial people as a distinct cultural group. This possibility is not foreseen as such in Fanon.

These differences and many of the others seem to arise, indirectly at least, from observations of different situations. The majority-minority problem is clearly one stemming from the Canadian scene, and cultural extinction is a concept familiar to Quebec nationalists. By a process of empirical reasoning, different conclusions may be drawn from different situations. Thus Fanon has a great interest in war, violence, and radical change; this concern arises from his observations of the Algerian War. On the other hand, Chamberland, observing a Quebec scene where violence is rare, is less directly concerned with violence.

In conclusion, it is apparent that from several viewpoints the revolutionary ideologies of Fanon and Chamberland are similar. However, it is with regard to the basic theories and overall conceptual framework that the parallels are the most striking.





Annexe II

PARTI PRIS: L'EVOLUTION RECENTE

\_ par

Georges-André Vachon



### Parti Pris: L'évolution récente

Les études de MM. Dozois et Barker ont suivi Parti Pris jusqu'à l'été 1964. Il reste donc à décrire l'évolution récente de ce mouvement.

Pour le faire, il nous a semblé que le mieux était de donner un aperçu de documents importants rédigés par le mouvement, et qui encadrent la période que nous avons à décrire: le Manifeste 1964-1965 et le Manifeste 1965-1966, qui ont paru respectivement dans les livraisons de septembre 1964 et septembre 1965 de la revue. Cela fait, nous pourrons revenir sur les livraisons publiées entre ces deux manifestes, pour voir s'il y apparaît des thèmes différents de ceux que MM. Dozois et Barker ont déjà relevés.

#### Le Manifeste 1964-1965

Ce texte constate tout d'abord que le mot clé de la revue, depuis sa fondation, a été "Révolution". Il constate en même temps que l'année écoulée a vu une recrudescence de l'agitation ouvrière et paysanne et, un durcissement de l'opposition bourgeoise.

Les rédacteurs font ensuite une rétrospective historique des événements depuis la mort de Duplessis: d'abord, la révolution tranquille, et ensuite, la montée des mouvements séparatistes: Alliance Laurentienne, RIN, ASIQ (Action



socialiste pour l'indépendance du Québec). De là, l'idée séparatiste gagne le parti libéral, l'OJC, les SSJB, les créditistes, le chef de l'Union Nationale, "enfin, tout le monde". Mais le mouvement a ses hauts et ses bas, et l'on assiste aux scissions répétées des groupes séparatistes. Au moment où le texte est rédigé, on se trouve devant des formations nouvelles: FLQ, Parti Pris, Socialisme 64, FRI (journal Québec Libre).

Vient enfin une considération générale: "Tous ces organismes souffrent du même romantisme: nous sommes fascinés et enthousiasmés par l'idée de révolution, parce que nous en sentons la nécessité objective, mais nous n'avons pas les moyens concrets de la faire, et jusqu'ici nous n'avons pas travaillé sérieusement à nous les donner".

Mais la situation présente, poursuit le texte, a l'avantage d'avoir permis d'identifier clairement les forces en présence. Maintenant que tout le monde est séparatiste, le rapport de forces ne s'établit plus entre séparatistes et fédéralistes, mais bien plutôt, à l'intérieur de la masse de ceux qui se déclarent autonomistes, entre forces bourgeoises et forces populaires.

Désormais il devient donc clair que Parti Pris n'a pas à lutter contre les forces d'Ottawa comme premier objectif: le mouvement a plutôt à remettre en question toutes les



structures de la société québécoise. "Nous avons cru, un peu naïvement, que la révolution était à notre porte, nous comprenons aujourd'hui que la lutte est à peine engagée. Nous savons que ce dont nous aurons le plus besoin ce n'est pas de l'héroïsme et de l'enthousiasme, mais plutôt du réalisme et de la persévérance".

La lutte doit donc maintenant porter sur deux fronts: le front colonial et le front socio-économique. Le premier pose peu de problèmes, "le pouvoir colonial d'Ottawa étant considérablement affaibli". Du reste "cette désagrégation spectaculaire est le corollaire et la conséquence de la montée de la nouvelle bourgeoisie, elle reflète le rapport des forces actuelles".

La vraie bataille se livre plutôt sur le deuxième front. Un Québec indépendant régi par la bourgeoisie serait un gain purement politique, puisque le Québec demeurerait alors économiquement colonisé. D'autre part, le peuple pourrait fort bien trouver son compte à cet état de choses, étant donné qu'il est endormi par l'euphorie de l'American way of life. La tâche nouvelle de la gauche révolutionnaire est donc claire: "entreprendre un énorme travail d'éducation politique populaire, créer des cadres qui encadrent et politisent le mécontentement populaire". "Nous avons en somme à créer un véritable Parti révolutionnaire".





Le texte se termine sur l'énumération des "tâches concrètes". Il y a, en premier lieu, "un énorme travail d'étude à faire, l'un des aspects du sous-développement du Québec étant qu'il est sous-étudié". Il faudra donc créer un centre de recherche et d'information, qui organiserait l'étude du Québec sous tous ses aspects. La seconde tâche est celle de l'éducation populaire. "Il nous faut, comme agitateurs et éducateurs, pénétrer tous les milieux, expliquer le vrai sens des problèmes", et pour cela, prendre connaissance de tous les mécontentements qui s'expriment chez les paysans, les ouvriers, les collets-blancs, etc. Il faut enfin que tout ce mouvement soit encadré solidement autour de noyaux, de réseaux, de militants et de cellules.

Dans le cadre général de cette action, Parti Pris entend structurer son action de la manière suivante:

1. Le mouvement a acquis un nouveau local, qui sera le siège du Club Parti Pris, qui est conçu surtout sous la forme d'un cercle d'études.
2. Les Editions Parti Pris, tout en continuant à publier des oeuvres littéraires témoignant de l'approfondissement de la conscience révolutionnaire, s'orienteront surtout vers la publication de matériel de travail.
3. La revue elle-même tentera d'être davantage un instrument de travail, orientée vers l'analyse actuelle, plutôt que vers l'abstraction et l'idéologie.



Et le manifeste se termine sur ces mots: "Le travail que nous proposons n'a plus rien de romantique. Ses résultats seront longs à se faire sentir; la tâche est immense et nos moyens sont minimes; il y faudra avant tout de la persévérance; et sans doute aussi un peu de folie. Nous invitons tous ceux qui se sentent cette décision, cette endurance et cette folie, à nous rejoindre".

Dans cette même livraison de septembre 1964, il faut tout de suite retenir un texte de Pierre Maheu, principal responsable du mouvement, qui ajoute quelques précisions aux idées résumées ci-dessus. Ses remarques indiquent un net assouplissement des conceptions du mouvement, dans les trois domaines clés de son action: socialisme, indépendance, laïcisme.

"Le socialisme que nous avons à édifier ne sera ni russe ni chinois ni cubain, il devra être et ne pourra être que québécois. Le marxisme-léninisme, dont nous nous réclamons, n'est pas un catéchisme mais avant tout une méthode d'analyse et de travail, qu'il s'agit pour nous de mettre en oeuvre au Québec".

Sur la question de l'indépendance, il est entendu que les positions de Parti Pris n'ont pas varié: aux yeux du mouvement, la solution même des Etats associés paraît timide.



Sur la question du laïcisme, le mouvement se gardera désormais de toute tendance ségrégationniste, la religion étant affaire personnelle. Il se contentera de lutter pour un Etat neutre et non-confessionnel.

Maheu signale enfin que la fondation du Club Parti Pris n'a pas d'autre but que de promouvoir la maturation d'un groupe qui jettera les bases d'un véritable parti révolutionnaire.

#### Le manifeste 1965-1966

Ce texte s'intitule: "Manifeste du Mouvement de libération populaire et de la revue Parti Pris".

La publication de ce nouveau manifeste, explique le texte, répond à une intention assez différente de celle qui animait celui de l'année précédente. "Cette fois ce n'est pas seulement les quelques rédacteurs d'une revue qui expriment leurs idées, c'est un mouvement politique organisé et actif qui y définit ses positions. En effet, l'appel de l'an dernier a été entendu. Les gens qui y ont répondu ont formé le Club Parti Pris, auquel se sont joints depuis juin dernier: Révolution Québécoise, le Groupe d'Action populaire, la Ligue Ouvrière socialiste, et qui vient de se transformer en organisme autonome, bien plus important que la revue qui lui a donné naissance".





Le manifeste commence par dire, une fois de plus, pourquoi le Québec est un pays colonisé. Il insiste sur l'actuel rapport des forces qui, selon lui, est entre les travailleurs, d'une part, et la bourgeoisie, de l'autre. Le néo-capitalisme qui s'est installé au Québec a pour résultat l'alinéation et l'exploitation des travailleurs.

Au moment où le texte est rédigé, il semble que la situation des forces soit la suivante: "d'une part, la nouvelle bourgeoisie tend à se stabiliser, à stopper le mouvement; de l'autre, les revendications populaires se font nombreuses et pressantes, exigeant des transformations plus radicales". Dans la "révolution tranquille", c'est la tranquillité qui importe aux premiers, tandis que pour les seconds, l'important, c'est que la révolution se fasse. En un mot, la néo-bourgeoisie fait actuellement vivre le Québec sous un néo-duplessisme. Et la seule manière de sortir de cette impasse, c'est "la révolution nationale démocratique accomplie sous l'impulsion des classes travailleuses".

Quatre éléments, donc, dans ce programme:

1. Révolution. Il ne peut s'agir d'obtenir de l'actuel régime des concessions et des aménagements. Il s'agit au contraire de changer radicalement la situation en prenant le pouvoir.





2. Nationale. Cette révolution passe en effet par la décolonisation, et elle devra avoir un caractère rigoureusement québécois.
3. Démocratique. Il s'agit ici d'instaurer la démocratie à trois niveaux.
  - a) niveau économique, en ce sens qu'elle devra remettre aux travailleurs les moyens de production;
  - b) niveau politique, en ce sens qu'elle organisera la participation active du peuple à la gestion des affaires publiques;
  - c) niveau social, puisqu'elle devra aboutir à l'abolition totale des privilèges, quels qu'ils soient.
4. Populaire. Elle sera accomplie sous l'impulsion des classes laborieuses, et à leur profit.

Dans le cadre de ce programme très général, le Mouvement de libération populaire (MLP) entend se fixer tout d'abord des "objectifs minimums", ou terrains d'action à court terme. Pour l'exercice 1965-1966, ces objectifs seront les suivants.

Libération nationale. A ce niveau, deux grandes mesures sont essentielles: l'unilinguisme et la récupération de l'économie nationale.



Justice sociale. Ici, il faudra voir d'abord la gratuité scolaire et celle des soins médicaux; ensuite, la municipalisation du sol urbain et la réforme de la fiscalité.

Réforme du travail. En attendant la remise entre les mains des travailleurs des moyens de production, il faut au moins assurer, dans l'immédiat, l'amélioration des conditions de travail, la participation syndicale à la gestion et l'élimination du chômage. Ceci doit logiquement entraîner deux mesures: l'échelle mobile des salaires et la réalisation du plein emploi par la diminution des heures de travail.

Tel est donc le "programme minimum" du MLP pour 1965-66.

Que devient, dans tout ceci, l'idée de révolution? Le MLP préfère maintenant parler de "situation révolutionnaire latente", qu'une maturation progressive saura faire aboutir à un point de crise. Les facteurs de cette maturation sont multiples: la conjoncture internationale, qui continue à diffuser l'idée du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes; les crises intérieures, sociales et économiques; le mécontentement populaire; le durcissement du régime (on trouve ici le développement attendu sur l'actuel ministre de la Justice). Dans ce contexte, le MLP se donne pour objectif de préparer un "pouvoir de remplacement". Dans l'immédiat il ne cherche qu'à former des militants sérieux, susceptibles d'être la base d'un Parti révolutionnaire.



Le mot d'ordre du MLP, pour l'année qui vient, sera donc: "Organisation de l'avant-garde en vue de créer le parti révolutionnaire, instrument de la prise du pouvoir".

Le Parti en question, qui n'est pas encore formé, ne doit rejeter a priori aucune des formes possibles de la lutte: lutte armée, ou clandestine, ou parlementaire. Ce choix est encore à faire. Pour l'instant, ce qui importe, ce sont les caractéristiques du Parti révolutionnaire, telles qu'on peut les entrevoir: il doit

- a) viser à la prise du pouvoir;
- b) être un parti de militants;
- c) être fortement structuré;
- d) être démocratique.

Concrètement, l'action du MLP consistera, au premier chef, à donner aux militants une formation politique.

C'est pourquoi ce même numéro (septembre 1965) annonce des "cours de formation politique" organisés conjointement par le MLP et le Parti socialiste du Québec. Ces cours doivent porter sur la politique, l'économie, les problèmes du syndicalisme, la théorie et la pratique du socialisme.

Il est encore trop tôt pour dire quelle fortune auront ces cours dans le milieu québécois. D'après les renseignements que nous avons pris, ils rejoignent à peine, pour l'instant (décembre 1965) une centaine de personnes, la plupart étudiants.





Entre septembre 1964 et septembre 1965

Reste à examiner le contenu de la revue, pour l'exercice compris entre les deux manifestes annuels. Malgré les changements intervenus, au niveau des déclarations d'intentions, il ne semble pas que le contenu des articles soit substantiellement différent de ce qu'il était avant la publication du premier manifeste. L'orientation demeure encore foncièrement intellectuelle. La proportion demeure sensiblement la même entre, d'une part les articles émanant des théoriciens du mouvement: Maheu et Chamberland, et les études plus précises sur le milieu, celles-ci prenant habituellement la forme de chroniques reliées étroitement à l'actualité sociale et économique. On y trouve souvent les même thèmes que dans les autres revues de tendance séparatiste. Par exemple, les deux numéros de décembre 1964 et de mai 1965 portent respectivement sur "Québec, capitale de roi-nègre" et "Montréal, la ville des autres". Ce sont là des thèmes très souvent développés, depuis 1962 surtout, en particulier par Liberté, Québec libre, et Révolution Québécoise; et l'on ne peut pas dire que le traitement que Parti Pris fait de ces questions renouvelle vraiment les sujets. Bien des idées qu'on trouve dans ces pages (on peut en dire autant des livraisons portant, par exemple, sur "la difficulté d'être québécois"), neuves en 1963, sont déjà devenues des lieux communs, presque des idées reçues.





C'est sans doute ce qui explique que le mouvement tende actuellement à s'essouffler. Sans que le nombre des abonnements ait baissé, il est sûr que la revue n'est plus l'organe vivant qu'il était il y a deux ans, et elle n'alimente certainement pas la pensée révolutionnaire des milieux auxquels elle est le plus accessible: le milieu étudiant, par exemple. On a un peu l'impression que la revue a dit tout ce qu'elle avait à dire, au cours de la première année de son existence, et que, depuis lors, elle ne fait plus que se répéter. Ce que nous livrons ici n'est pas le résultat d'une enquête, mais l'impression fréquemment exprimée dans divers milieux, où la revue est diffusée.

Du reste, ces constatations ont fait l'objet des "auto-critiques" annuelles du mouvement, qui ont abouti aux deux manifestes que nous avons résumés ci-dessus. Le mouvement est donc conscient de ses faiblesses, et c'est pourquoi il cherche à se donner des objectifs plus précis et une structure plus solide. Comme nous l'avons dit, il est encore trop tôt pour juger des résultats que donneront ces nouvelles mesures de rajeunissement.



Section V

L'ALLIANCE LAURENTIENNE

par

Alfredo Lévesque



## I INTRODUCTION

### Les Objectifs

Dans l'étude de l'Alliance Laurentienne, notre effort a surtout porté sur l'analyse de la doctrine, telle qu'exprimée dans les ouvrages de Raymond Barbeau et dans les quelque vingt livraisons qu'a connues la revue Laurentie. Mais avant d'aborder la doctrine elle-même, nous avons cru bon de donner, tout d'abord, un aperçu de la vie et des antécédents de Raymond Barbeau, fondateur du mouvement. Nous donnons ensuite une brève description du mouvement: tout d'abord au point de vue historique, et ensuite, au point de vue de la structure et de l'orientation générale.

Dans l'analyse de la doctrine, après avoir dit un mot de la méthode que nous avons suivie, nous commençons par déployer l'éventail des thèmes qui traversent les publications que nous avons dépouillées. Nous pouvons ensuite aborder les principaux thèmes du mouvement, que nous groupons sous cinq chefs principaux: la Nation, le Québec, la Confédération, l'Etat laurentien, le Corporatisme. Dans une dernière section, nous indiquons les moyens d'action que le mouvement envisage d'utiliser pour acheminer le Québec vers l'indépendance.



## II LE FONDATEUR: RAYMOND BARBEAU

Raymond Barbeau est né d'une famille ouvrière, à Montréal, en 1930. Après ses études primaires supérieures au Plateau, il travaille quelque temps dans une société commerciale anglo-américaine, puis fréquente l'Institut Hélié, où il obtient son baccalauréat en 1950. Peu après, des cours par correspondance lui méritent un diplôme en comptabilité de l'Université de Chicago. Un séjour à la même université lui vaut un baccalauréat en Droit.

Se voyant refuser toute bourse, il part quand même pour Paris. Il y enseigne l'anglais au Collège Stanislas, et poursuit ses études à l'Institut Catholique et à la Sorbonne, où il recevra un Doctorat en Lettres pour sa thèse, "Un prophète luciférien Léon Bloy".

Revenu au Canada en 1957, il fonde l'Alliance Laurentienne, publie la revue Laurentie, enseigne le français et se consacre à la cause de l'indépendance du Québec. Très vite, il devient "le chef de file aux idées les plus controversées de l'heure", "l'initiateur et le théoricien du séparatisme". Successivement il publie J'ai choisi l'Indépendance (1961), Québec est-il une Colonie (1962), La libération économique du Québec (1963). En 1964-5, il prépare un essai sur la future république qu'il propose aux Canadiens français.





Raymond Barbeau nous apparaît comme un intellectuel de premier ordre. Ses ouvrages lui ont déjà valu la médaille de l'Académie canadienne-française, et le Prix des Amitiés latines internationales. Il est membre de plusieurs associations nationales et internationales, dont l'identité nous échappe encore.

Mentionnons finalement que sa pensée s'enracine d'une part, dans la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise Catholique, et d'autre part, dans la tradition historique et nationaliste propre aux Canadiens français. Dans ce domaine particulier, il reconnaît le chanoine Groulx comme son maître incontesté.



III L'ALLIANCE LAURENTIENNEHistorique

L'Alliance Laurentienne a été fondée officiellement le 25 janvier 1957 par Raymond Barbeau, qui en est demeuré le président-fondateur jusqu'au moment de la dissolution du mouvement, en 1963. Le mouvement se proposait "comme but principal de répandre l'idée de l'indépendance de la Province de Québec et de la création de la République de Laurentie"<sup>1</sup>

Dirigeants et membres

Nous n'avons pas encore de données précises sur les membres fondateurs de l'Alliance: nous pouvons quand même supposer que s'y retrouvent les premiers collaborateurs de Laurentie, organe officiel de ce mouvement. L'équipe des numéros parus en 1957 et 1958 comprend les noms de: Raymond Barbeau, Pierre Guilmette, Gérard Gauthier, Roger Pigeon, Jean Gagnon, Robert Benson, Albert Pinel, Charles d'Autray, Guy Rheault, Claude Aumont, André d'Allemagne, Alexandre Séguin.

En général, Raymond Barbeau présente des études fortement documentées, à caractère scientifique. Pierre Guilmette semble plutôt orienté du côté historique et sa pensée suit

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<sup>1</sup> Laurentie, no. 104, p. 227.



de près celle de Barbeau. Par contre, les textes de Gérard Gauthier et d'Alexandre Séguin présentent les thèmes et utilisent la terminologie des revues d'extrême-droite, telles que Verbe et Cité catholique. Dans ce groupe, André d'Allemagne, Roger Pigeon et Jean Gagnon semblent représenter la pensée libérale, ou si l'on veut, ils se situent plus à gauche. Notons que d'Allemagne quittait l'Alliance en 1960 pour devenir le premier président du RIN.

En octobre 1962, à la parution du dernier numéro de Laurentie, la direction de l'Alliance s'établissait comme suit:

- Président: Raymond Barbeau
- Vice-Présidents: Henri-Louis Gagnon,  
Pierre Grenier
- Secrétaire: Pierre Guilmette
- Secrétaire adjoint: Jean-Pierre Lefebvre.
- Trésorier: Gérard Gauthier
- Trésorier adjoint: Roma Cardinal
- Directeurs: Gérard Cloutier, François Lorient,  
Cécilien Pelchat, André Bossée,  
Jean-Guy Labarre, René Matte,  
Robert Martin, Marc Bélanger.

Nous n'avons aucune donnée précise sur la provenance sociale des membres de l'Alliance Laurentienne. Nous pouvons cependant formuler l'hypothèse qu'ils se recrutent surtout parmi les militants catholiques nationalistes des milieux de la Société St-Jean-Baptiste, de l'Action nationale, parmi les fervents de Groulx, les jeunes étudiants et les



intellectuels de droite. Notre hypothèse repose sur le fait que la doctrine de l'Alliance prend sa source dans ces milieux, que les membres éventuels devaient, selon un texte que nous n'avons pu retracer, étudier la littérature de base (Groulx, Wilfrid Morin, l'histoire du Canada, les grands principes de la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise), recevoir une formation et produire une enquête sur leur milieu respectif. Notre hypothèse repose aussi sur la politique des dirigeants du mouvement: Barbeau estimait:

qu'il faut que les catholiques prennent leurs responsabilités civiles dans un pays dont ils constituent la majorité à 88%. Nous n'excluons pas systématiquement de l'Alliance Laurentienne ceux qui n'ont pas notre foi; nous estimons toutefois que certains objectifs précis que nous nous sommes fixés ne conviendraient pas à des gens qui ne partagent pas nos croyances religieuses. L'homogénéité d'un mouvement idéologique est nécessaire à son efficacité.<sup>2</sup>

Pour sa part François Lorient déclarait:

Nous avons trouvé nécessaire et sage pour obtenir la confiance du peuple, de présenter une doctrine complète et cohérente, et un plan d'action précis, qui respectent les meilleures traditions de notre peuple, et correspondent à ses ultimes désirs.<sup>3</sup>

### Structure, Orientation, Méthodes

#### A- De 1957 à 1960

L'Alliance s'est présentée d'abord comme un mouvement idéologique à caractère uniforme et à direction fortement

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid. no. 118, p. 922.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 933.





centralisée:

lors de sa fondation, l'Alliance Laurentienne n'a pas voulu répéter les erreurs des mouvements souverainistes du passé qui se sont écroulés faute d'unité, faute de doctrine, faute de réalisme.<sup>4</sup>

Son orientation première fut l'étude, la formation de ses membres et la propagande:

Les trois premières années furent consacrées à la propagande par tous les moyens dont on pouvait disposer alors, mais aussi elles permirent à tout un group de Laurentiens de se former, d'acquérir plus de connaissance, et de préciser la doctrine.<sup>5</sup>

D'abord, travail de "défrichement intellectuel", de définitions:

Nous ne savions même pas qui nous étions, Canadiens, Français, ou Québécois... Il fallait nous identifier, savoir qui nous étions, ce que nous voulions comme peuple, où nous voulions aller. .... La direction du mouvement laurentien lorsqu'elle commença à travailler, ne trouva rien de plus urgent que de définir la nation québécoise et de préciser le rôle de l'Etat du Québec.<sup>6</sup>

Travail aussi de propagande car avant de libérer la nation, il fallait libérer les esprits. Les Laurentiens multiplient les discours, les conférences, les réunions et les assemblées. Ils publient la revue Laurentie, éditent

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 930.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 927.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 929.



divers ouvrages et utilisent au maximum les "Courriers du lecteur" dans les journaux. "Les lettres aux journaux devinrent pour nous un moyen efficace et inespéré pour rejoindre des millions de personnes dans tous les coins du Québec".<sup>7</sup>

B- De 1960 à 1963

L'année 1960 marque un tournant dans l'évolution du mouvement qui oriente son action selon la formule:

le seul moyen d'arriver sûrement au peuple est de transformer l'élite, d'orienter les institutions dans un sens exclusivement québécois et d'opérer de cette sorte une révolution pacifique.<sup>8</sup>

Pour ce faire, l'Alliance s'est employée à mettre sur pied "diverses associations qui travaillent au sein des professions, des diverses classes et des divers organismes du Québec à convaincre l'élite". Elle visa à multiplier les comités d'études et de recherches pour "perfectionner et approfondir la doctrine, c'est-à-dire tous les aspects de notre vie nationale".<sup>9</sup>

Durant cette période, les Laurentiens fondèrent des clubs Laurentie dans les principales villes du Québec. Ils mirent sur pied plusieurs associations, entre autres la Légion laurentienne pour "recruter les anciens combattants

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid. No. 118.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. pp. 931-933



et travailler parmi eux,<sup>10</sup> l'association des femmes laurentiennes et l'association de la jeunesse laurentienne, qui recrutent ses membres dans les universités, les collèges, les écoles normales, les écoles secondaires et les milieux de la jeunesse ouvrière. Ils fondèrent la Bibliothèque laurentienne et instituèrent l'Ordre de la Fleur-de-Lys.

L'Alliance forma aussi plusieurs comités d'études, dont le Comité de l'Enseignement qui soumit un mémoire à la Commission Parent, le Comité d'Urbanisme qui présenta un mémoire au Congrès de l'Association canadienne d'urbanisme au printemps 1962, le Comité de Sécurité Sociale qui soumit un mémoire à la Commission d'enquête sur l'Assurance-chômage et le Comité des recherches constitutionnelles.

Pendant ce temps, à Paris, des amis mirent sur pied la Section européenne pour faire connaître le mouvement dans les journaux et divers organismes.

En plus de la revue Laurentie, l'Alliance publia durant cette période différents ouvrages dont :

l'Indépendance du Québec, de l'Abbé Wilfrid Morin,  
J'ai Choisi l'Indépendance, Le Québec est-il une colonie,  
La Libération économique du Québec, de Raymond Barbeau,  
Directives, du Chanoine Groulx  
Non au Drapeau Canadien, de Jean-Guy Labarre, et un  
 projet de constitution pour la République de Laurentie.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 930



A l'automne 1962, l'Alliance présentait une image de dynamisme, de sérieux et de solidité. C'était, nous semble-t-il, le plus influent des mouvements indépendantistes.

C- L'année 1963

Jusqu'à la fin de 1962, l'Alliance se voulait un mouvement idéologique, un mouvement d'études, de formation et de propagande au sein de "l'élite" des différentes classes. A ce moment-là, elle revisa ses positions et décida de se fondre au Parti Républicain, fondé le 17 décembre 1962 et dirigé par Marcel Chaput. Au moment où elle opta pour l'action politique directe, l'Alliance laurentienne cessa d'exister. Pour sa part, Raymond Barbeau, après avoir appuyé le PRQ, s'en dissocia publiquement en novembre 1963. Ce Parti républicain s'effondra en janvier 1964.

L'Alliance Laurentienne se retrouve donc à l'origine du mouvement séparatiste actuel. Elle a formé la première vague indépendantiste et a suscité indirectement l'apparition des autres mouvements dont l'Action socialiste pour l'Indépendance du Québec, le RIN et le PQ. Sa dissolution ne semble pas avoir marqué un recul du mouvement de l'indépendance qui a continué à prendre de l'ampleur et faire boule de neige. L'Alliance Laurentienne n'existe plus comme groupe, mais on peut se demander ce qu'il advient des diverses associations qu'elle a mises sur pied aux seins des professions, des groupes et des organismes.







#### IV LA DOCTRINE LAURENTIENNE

##### La Méthode

Nous avons commencé par recenser tous les articles publiés dans la revue, afin d'en déterminer les principaux collaborateurs. Ensuite nous avons procédé à une analyse qualitative de leurs textes en incluant la thèse de Wilfrid Morin, l'Indépendance du Québec, et les volumes de Raymond Barbeau, J'ai choisi l'indépendance, Le Québec est-il une colonie, La libération économique du Québec. Nous avons ainsi dégagé un certain nombre de thèmes et sous-thèmes, à partir desquels nous nous sommes formé une image de la doctrine laurentienne. Nous avons finalement vérifié nos conclusions par une brève analyse de tous les textes de la revue et le contrôle de certaines sources ayant trait à l'orientation nationaliste.

##### La Revue

La revue Laurentie paraît irrégulièrement de janvier 1957 à octobre 1962. La série complète comprend vingt numéros d'environ soixante pages chacun, et cent soixante et onze articles provenant de quatre-vingt-trois sources différentes.

Cinquante-cinq de ces textes proviennent de collaborateurs permanents, soit: quinze textes signés "Alliance Laurentienne", vingt-trois, signés Raymond Barbeau, onze, Pierre Grenier, six, Pierre Guilmette et six de l'abbé Groulx.



Les autres articles proviennent en partie des membres de l'Alliance et en partie de sources étrangères au mouvement et à la revue. Dans ce cas, il s'agit de reproductions présentant soit un point de vue favorable à la thèse laurentienne, soit des objections auxquelles on donne la réplique.

### Analyse de la Doctrine

#### A- Les thèmes fondamentaux

Notre analyse de la doctrine laurentienne nous a permis de dégager deux thèmes fondamentaux: la souveraineté nationale et l'instauration d'un ordre social chrétien. Ces deux thèmes expriment les objectifs ultimes de la doctrine, et sont appelés à se concrétiser par la création de l'Etat laurentien, sous forme de république chrétienne, unitaire, organique et corporative.

Ces deux thèmes donnent naissance à deux séries parallèles de thèmes et de sous-thèmes, qui reflètent une conception dualiste du monde: l'ordre temporel et l'ordre spirituel. Nous présentons ici un schéma très bref à




titre d'illustration:

Ordre temporel

la nation  
l'état national  
indépendance  
nationalisme  
organisation sociale,  
- économique et  
- politique

Ordre spirituel

l'Eglise  
l'ordre social chrétien  
conception chrétienne  
- de l'état,  
- de la politique  
- de l'économie  
- de l'organisation sociale,  
- du droit,  
- de la justice, etc....



corporatisme

B- Rapport entre ces thèmes

Les rapports entre ces thèmes sont très étroits et complexes:

La doctrine proprement laurentienne est celle qui traite des choses concrètes: combat contre le fédéral, république, corporatisme communautaire, interventionisme, droit du Québec à l'indépendance, etc. Toutes ces questions précises relèvent de notre compétence. Nous nous référons à l'Eglise pour savoir quelles sont les conditions d'un combat chrétien, d'une république chrétienne, d'un corporatisme démocratique et chrétien, d'un interventionisme chrétien, d'un droit des nationalités chrétien.<sup>1</sup>

Cette correspondance étroite prend parfois l'allure d'une oscillation entre deux pôles:

Nous ne voulons pas faire l'indépendance du Québec pour instaurer la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise, mais bien réaliser l'indépendance conformément aux exigences du peuple et par là

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<sup>1</sup> Laurentie.



nous créer des institutions bien adaptées à l'idéologie collective de la nation laurentienne...

Seulement, sans nous prendre pour l'Eglise, nous sommes un groupe composé de catholiques qui veulent demeurer logiques avec eux-mêmes et qui veulent faire passer dans les faits l'enseignement de l'Eglise.<sup>2</sup>

#### C- La doctrine laurentienne: essai de définition

La doctrine laurentienne est essentiellement le nationalisme canadien-français poussé à son aboutissement logique et doublé de la théorie économique et sociale de l'Eglise catholique. Nous reconnaissons ici un phénomène original et nouveau: la réconciliation entre la théorie sociale et les impératifs nationaux. En effet, selon Raymond Barbeau:

C'est le temps de faire le lien entre les théories sociales, les théories économiques, les impératifs, les exigences de la nation. Nous avons toujours été trop divisés. Ceux qui s'occupent des questions nationales n'ont eu bien souvent que très peu de préoccupations sociales et inversement, ceux qui avaient des préoccupations sociales laissaient la plupart du temps de côté la question nationale.<sup>3</sup>

#### Questions préliminaires

Avant d'aborder le thème central de la Nation et ses sous-thèmes, nous présenterons les réponses laurentiennes à trois questions préliminaires: Pourquoi une doctrine? Pourquoi l'optique nationale? Pourquoi la doctrine sociale

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<sup>2</sup> IBID. No 120, pp. 1020-22.

<sup>3</sup> IBID. No 118, p. 925.





de l'Eglise catholique?

A- Pourquoi une doctrine?

Parce que la doctrine est la structure de l'action... (parce que) privés d'une doctrine les nationalistes canadiens-français ne furent jamais capables de poursuivre une action positive et durable. Depuis la conquête, notre histoire tient en un mot: résistance. Résistance à l'assimilation; résistance de Papineau aux bureaucrates de l'oligarchie qui nous imposèrent le recours aux armes (1837-1838) résistance de Bourassa à l'impérialisme britannique dont le cheval de Troie répondait au nom de Laurier; résistance verbale et négative à la centralisation dictatoriale d'Ottawa. Non, sans une structure rationnelle, le sentiment patriotique ne construira pas. Epuisé par tant de lutte il s'effrite, il menace de crouler à tout moment. C'est pour nous une question de vie ou de mort: il faut une doctrine.<sup>4</sup>

La nécessité d'une doctrine pour appuyer l'idée d'indépendance se fonde encore sur la volonté d'éviter le dilemme de l'anarchie et du totalitarisme:

La seule chance de succès d'un mouvement composé de personnes aux tendances et aux croyances les plus diverses, est de faire taire toutes ces divisions idéologiques et de neutraliser toutes ces contradictions doctrinales. L'idée d'indépendance devrait être assez forte pour annuler le manque de doctrine du mouvement. Or, c'est cela qui soulève des difficultés insurmontables et qui condamne les rassemblements à un dilemme inéluctable: ou bien l'idée dominante n'est pas imposée assez catégoriquement et le mouvement est impuissant à combattre les diffusions idéologiques de ses membres, ce qui l'amène à se désintégrer dans l'anarchie;

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<sup>4</sup> IBID. No 102, p. 90.



ou bien l'idée dominante est imposée comme un absolu devant lequel toutes les conceptions religieuses et idéologiques particulières des membres doivent se plier, auquel toutes les valeurs de la société sont appelés à se subordonner, ce qui provoque une forme de totalitarisme.<sup>5</sup>

B- Pourquoi l'optique nationale?

Il s'agit là, croyons-nous, d'une réaction contre l'internationalisme:

l'internationale est l'ennemie la plus radicale de la liberté individuelle et de toutes les libertés, un ferment perpétuel de haine et d'envie, un foyer constant de la lutte des classes et, par là une excitation perpétuelle à la guerre civile. Guerre entre frères d'une même nation par sa théorie de la lutte des classes. Elle aboutit finalement à la lutte entre nationalités ou races différentes et, comme nous l'avons vu tout dernièrement à Murdochville, entre des gens de même nationalité. En supposant qu'elle apaiserait tous les conflits de classes de nationalités, de races, l'internationale ne saurait jamais être que la domination d'un Etat, d'une race hégémonique, dirigé par des puissances plus ou moins occultes.<sup>6</sup>

Deux autres raisons sont aussi invoquées pour justifier

l'option nationale:

L'Etat-nation, c'est l'idéal de tout peuple, l'aboutissement normal du vouloir-vivre collectif de toute la communauté nationale.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> IBID. No 120, p. 1013.

<sup>6</sup> IBID. No 102, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> IBID. No 103, p. 200.



Seul l'Etat français d'Amérique peut permettre au groupement humain canadien-français de satisfaire ses besoins essentiels de cohésion, de continuité, de justice et de sécurité.<sup>8</sup>

#### C- Pourquoi la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise?

Parce qu'elle répond à des exigences démocratiques, logiques et morales et que sans elle l'action souverainiste "risque fort de déboucher dans la catastrophe."

#### Exigences démocratiques

A qui s'adresse notre mouvement? Aux Québécois qui sont en très grande majorité catholiques. Il sera alors juste et démocratique de leur proposer une doctrine chrétienne, en accord avec ce qu'ils sont. Nous prétendons qu'un mouvement souverainiste québécois a plus de chance d'être démocratique, de convenir au peuple auquel il s'adresse et de respecter ce peuple, s'il se donne au départ une doctrine qui correspond à tout ce qu'est ce peuple. Les Québécois sont catholiques dans une proportion de 88.1% (recensement de 1961). Il est naturel que l'Alliance Laurentienne propose une doctrine qui puisse satisfaire aux aspirations profondes de cette majorité, les lois des minorités étant par ailleurs reconnues dans la même doctrine.<sup>9</sup>

#### Exigences logiques

Le citoyen catholique, dans son action civique, pour demeurer logique avec lui-même et éviter de dresser un mur entre ses convictions religieuses et son activité sociale, doit s'inspirer des principes catholiques et les mettre en application. Il n'y a pas d'autre

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<sup>8</sup> IBID. No 103, p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> IBID. No 120, p. 1023.





choix possible. Il ne doit pas y avoir opposition chez le même homme entre le citoyen et le catholique. C'est pourquoi l'Alliance Laurentienne est naturellement d'inspiration catholique, comme tout mouvement composé de catholiques et s'adressant à des catholiques doit l'être. C'est un devoir pour nous de rester liés à notre source chrétienne. Car où donc les Laurentiens pourraient chercher les fondements solides de leur doctrine? Si nous étions communistes, nous les trouverions dans le Marxisme Léninisme et si nous étions agnostiques, dans quelque foi laïciste; mais nous sommes catholiques, et c'est dans l'enseignement de l'Eglise que nous le trouvons.<sup>10</sup>

### Exigences morales

Les conceptions sociales, politiques et économiques de la société engagent tout l'homme et par suite touche au domaine spirituel. La société civile devrait tendre le plus possible à réaliser la conception chrétienne de la société. Le laïque catholique a l'obligation morale de faire passer dans son activité publique les principes de la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise.<sup>11</sup>

Finalement, on fait appel à la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise pour en faire le fondement et le guide de l'action souverainiste:

L'action souverainiste des Québécois doit se fonder sur des valeurs surnaturelles. Autrement, elle risque fort de déboucher dans la catastrophe. Si elle n'est pas éclairée par la doctrine chrétienne, la seule qui empêche les valeurs purement humaines comme l'Etat et la nation de devenir des absolus, cette action a toutes les chances de voir se répéter les graves erreurs du passé. Seul le catholicisme peut empêcher les déviations désastreuses et maintenir notre action dans de justes limites. La religion chrétienne oriente toute l'activité humaine vers l'au-delà, elle veut l'établissement d'un ordre spirituel

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<sup>10</sup> IBID. No 120, p. 1017.

<sup>11</sup> IBID. No 120, p. 1016.





au-dessus des nations et des Etats. ... il est de suprême importance qu'une action aussi capitale que l'action souverainiste, et aussi lourde de sens et de responsabilités tire son orientation de cette doctrine féconde. Pour une juste notion de l'Etat, de la nation, du principe des nationalités, des rapports du capital et du travail, de la justice sociale, il faut regarder vers le phare catholique. Notre action prendra son vrai sens quand elle s'insérera dans la perspective chrétienne.<sup>12</sup>

### Le thème majeur: la nation

La doctrine laurentienne vise, en premier lieu, à confirmer l'existence de la nation canadienne-française, à établir ses droits et à découvrir ses aspirations. En second lieu, elle s'applique à la situer sur les plans territoriaux, démographique, politique, économique, sociaux, culturels et intellectuels. Nous reprendrons chacun de ces sous-thèmes, en nous référant toujours aux textes.

#### A- La nation canadienne-française existe

La nation laurentienne est une réalité harmonieuse, comprenant des sentiments, des traditions, des intérêts économiques et ethniques librement acceptés, voulus, poursuivis et son idéal de libération est générateur d'énergie, de conscience collective, d'expansion et de progrès. La réalisation de la république de Laurentie, rêve de tous nos ancêtres, sera utile à la communauté des peuples parce qu'elle sera un élément de civilisation véritable.<sup>13</sup>

La nation du Québec persiste dans son être depuis longtemps malgré toutes les adversités. Elle veut durer et acquérir non l'être, mais des moyens d'expression extérieure de son être politique. Cela ne requiert pas un changement de nature mais de structure. Une poussée intense vers un achèvement

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<sup>12</sup> IBID. No 120, p. 1015.

<sup>13</sup> IBID. No 103, p. 180.



logique. Pas une mutation, mais une évolution consciente et ordonnée: l'articulation et le geste d'une personne majeure qui assureront sa pérennité.<sup>14</sup>

Nous formons une population de plus de cinq million et demi de citoyens, habitant un vaste territoire bien délimité, où la langue française (80%) et la religion catholique (88%) sont majoritaires et nous avons nettement conscience d'appartenir à une communauté distincte, à une nation différente qui a manifesté son vouloir vivre à maintes reprises au cours de son existence.<sup>15</sup>

#### B- Les droits de la nation canadienne-française

Selon la doctrine laurentienne, l'existence d'une nation authentique appelle de soi le droit à la vie, au perfectionnement, le droit de légitime défense, mais aussi et surtout, le droit à l'autodétermination, à la sécession:

Une nation ethnique a donc légitimement une aspiration naturelle à vivre selon ses caractéristiques individuelles: cela lui donne le fondement juridique de la possibilité de sécession. Ce droit de sécession peut être défini: le droit de résistance à l'oppression exercée par des collectivités politiques. Comme le droit de résistance individuel, il est légitime là où l'on se trouve en présence de violation du droit est grave et répété. Ce qui est bien le cas de l'impérialisme et de la centralisation tyrannique d'Ottawa vis-à-vis du Québec.<sup>16</sup>

#### C- Les aspirations de la nation canadienne-française

Au fond du nationalisme laurentien, il y a une aspiration naturelle, pour notre peuple, à se constituer en une nation pleinement indépendante, autonome à l'intérieur et souveraine à l'extérieur.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> IBID. No 102, p.88.

<sup>15</sup> Barbeau, Libération économique du Québec, p. 149.

<sup>16</sup> Laurentie, no 104, p. 239.

<sup>17</sup> IBID. p. 227.



Si notre histoire a un sens, et elle a un sens, notre seul destin légitime et impérieux, l'aboutissement logique de notre effort de cent soixante-dix-sept ans, pour nous dégager et vivre notre vie à nous, le but nettement visé par la flèche indicatrice, par la ligne toujours montante de notre histoire, ne peut être que celui-ci: constituer en Amérique, dans la plus grande autonomie possible, cette réalité politique et spirituelle, suprême originalité de ce continent, triomphe, chef-d'oeuvre d'un splendide effort humain: un état catholique et français.<sup>18</sup>

#### D- La nation canadienne-française en situation

##### Sur le plan territorial

Les Canadiens français ne forment réellement une nation qu'au Québec dont le territoire leur appartient en droit et en fait, et où ils forment la majorité de la population, à près de 85%. Cette propriété du territoire est confirmée par le droit naturel et le droit international:

d'abord le droit naturel accorde le pouvoir à l'homme de posséder un territoire qu'il découvre. Le code international appuie ce droit lorsque le territoire est *res nullius* i.e. n'appartient à personne. Tel était le territoire qui existait en Amérique lors de la découverte du Canada par les Français. Droit de découvreur, de l'explorateur, du premier occupant. Ce territoire immense n'appartenait à aucune société politiquement organisée. Premier habitant, premier défricheur, notre droit à la possession intégrale et exclusive du sol était et demeure incontestable.<sup>19</sup>

En effet, l'article 109 de L'A.A.B.N. réaffirme la possession du sol à l'état du Québec, territoire octroyé par l'acte de Québec en 1774 et par l'acte constitutionnel de 1791 qui divisa le Canada en deux

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<sup>18</sup> IBID. No 101, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> IBID. No 102, p. 99.





territoires autonomes. Le parlement fédéral n'a aucun droit sur le territoire national bien délimité de l'état du Québec.<sup>20</sup>

### Sur le plan démographique

Considérant l'ensemble du Canada, les Canadiens français constituent une minorité déclinante:

En 1956, la population totale du Canada était de seize million d'âmes dont quatre million huit cent mille Canadiens français soit 29% et onze million trois cent mille anglophones soit 71%. L'augmentation annuelle des anglophones s'établissait à 368,500 âmes tandis que celle de la population française à 130,750 âmes. C'est dire que dans vingt ans, nous ne serons plus que le quart de la population du Canada, et vers l'an 2,011, plus que le 16.8%.<sup>21</sup>

### Plans politique, économique, culturel, social et intellectuel

Sur les plans politique et économique, culturel, social et intellectuel, la situation des Canadiens français dans la Confédération est essentiellement celle d'un peuple colonisé. Ce thème de colonialisme revient à maintes reprises dans la revue Laurentie et fait l'objet de deux volumes fort documentés de Raymond Barbeau: Le Québec est-il une colonie? et La Libération économique du Québec. La conclusion de ces deux études pourrait se résumer dans ce texte:

Nous sommes présentement devant une situation brutale: notre enchaînement politique à la Confédération canadienne conditionne notre asservissement économique au monde anglo-américain. Aucun peuple civilisé n'est plus économiquement colonisé que le peuple canadien-français en 1963. Nulle part ailleurs peut-être l'indépendance économique n'est plus exigée dans la réalité quotidienne, car le Québec est foncièrement tributaire du monde anglo-américain. La dictature

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<sup>20</sup> IBID. p. 111.

<sup>21</sup> Barbeau, Le Québec est-il une colonie? p. 110.





économique étrangère qui est confortablement installée au Québec est accapareuse, monopolisatrice, dominatrice et oppressive. Elle règne sur la politique, la presse, les affaires, les professions et les services publics. Si nous perdons la bataille, et tout nous laisse croire que dans la Confédération nous la perdrons, nous perpétuerons la sujétion économique qui est nôtre depuis près d'un siècle, nous resterons à la merci des centralisateurs et des assimilateurs d'Ottawa et notre économie nationale périlitera jusqu'au jour où la nation québécoise sera complètement absorbée par ces conquérants anglo-américains.

Pour les Canadiens français, l'indépendance économique est une question de vie ou de mort. Olivar Asselin soutenait avec raison "qu'un peuple qui ne jouit pas de la liberté économique est condamné à la servitude politique". Et comme la servitude politique est antérieure à l'esclavage économique au Canada français, nous devons d'abord travailler à libérer notre patrie du Québec qui est totalement impuissante, au point de vue économique dans la Confédération.<sup>22</sup>

## Le Québec

### A- Le Québec est un Etat

Le Québec est un état parce qu'il possède son propre territoire, mieux en droit qu'en fait, en vertu de l'Article 109 de l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord et qu'il a une assemblée législative, théoriquement souveraine dans un nombre restreint de secteurs de l'activité politique, ses pouvoirs, par ailleurs, étant très réduits et ses ressources de tous genres limitées par la prédominance absolue du gouvernement fédéral à forte majorité anglo-canadienne.<sup>23</sup>

### B- Le Québec est un Etat annexé, une colonie

Etat membre dans une fédération, le Québec est devenu un état annexé, et le contrat ou Traité de

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<sup>22</sup> Barbeau, La libération économique du Québec, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Barbeau, Le Québec est-il une colonie? p. 32.



1867 au lieu de créer une association entre deux nations, a donné naissance à un monstre bicéphale: la "nation canadienne", dans lequel la nation canadienne-française perd toute son identité, toute sa valeur, toute son histoire toutes ses virtualités, toutes ses chances de développement, de vivre dignement comme nation adulte.<sup>24</sup>

#### C- Le Québec et l'indépendance

Le Québec a un droit certain à la sécession, et devrait exercer le plus tôt possible son droit légitime à l'autodétermination. Il est délié de tous devoirs envers la Confédération et il possède un degré suffisant de maturité politique, une civilisation et des institutions qui assureront à son indépendance un plein succès. Il remplit toutes les conditions que le droit international exige des nations nouvelles avant de leur reconnaître un statut international de pays libres.<sup>25</sup>

#### La Confédération

Dans l'optique laurentienne, la Confédération est l'aboutissement de la conquête de 1760 et de l'Acte d'Union de 1840. Non-démocratique dans son origine, elle a été conçue et appliquée selon une mentalité impérialiste à tendance unitaire. L'esprit et la lettre de ce contrat, ou de cette loi, ont été constamment violés par la majorité anglaise. Actuellement, les structures confédératives enchaînent le Québec et perpétuent l'injustice et la domination d'une nation sur une autre. Elle est un mal absolu pour la nation canadienne-française:

La Confédération canadienne menace l'unité politique de notre peuple de cinq millions de population, nous

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<sup>24</sup> Barbeau, IBID. p. 154.

<sup>25</sup> IBID. p. 156.



conteste nos droits les plus élémentaires, nous usurpe des droits sacrés inscrits dans la Constitution, arrête injustement notre expansion économique, offense nos nationaux au mépris du droit des gens, cherche à créer des combinaisons inter-provinciales propres à léser notre dignité et nos légitimes influences, et pour sauver notre prestige et notre honneur, nous n'avons pas d'autre choix que de réclamer la souveraineté de l'état du Québec.<sup>26</sup>

### L'Etat Laurentien

Il faut abolir la Confédération et faire du Québec une République: La Laurentie. Mais que sera ce nouvel état? Quel rôle jouera-t-il dans la vie de la nation?

Il est opportun, croyons-nous, de rappeler ici les deux thèmes fondamentaux de la doctrine laurentienne: la souveraineté nationale et l'instauration d'un ordre social chrétien. Ces deux thèmes, avions-nous mentionné par ailleurs, étaient appelés à se concrétiser dans l'instauration de la République de Laurentie.

Fidèle à la doctrine sociale de l'Eglise, dont il est l'incarnation, l'Etat laurentien ne sera ni socialiste, ni marxiste, ni fasciste, ni capitaliste, mais prendra la forme d'une véritable démocratie organique où les organismes coopératifs et la corporation professionnelle seront développés et représentés directement à la chambre corporative. Cette chambre remplacerait le Conseil législatif actuel et travaillerait activement à l'élaboration des lois.

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<sup>26</sup> Laurentie, no 104, extrait du manifeste.





L'Etat laurentien serait donc:

une république unitaire et chrétienne, basée sur la loi naturelle, sur l'égalité des citoyens devant la loi, et sur le libre accès de toutes les classes de la société aux bienfaits de la civilisation.

Par ailleurs:

la république unitaire, organique et corporative de Laurentie est le gouvernement du peuple par la nation pour la patrie.<sup>27</sup>

### Dans l'optique laurentienne

La prérogative et la mission de l'Etat laurentien seront de contrôler, aider et régler les activités individuelles de la vie nationale pour les faire converger harmonieusement vers le bien commun qui se trouve dans le développement équilibré et le perfectionnement de l'homme.

Il appartient principalement à l'Etat:

- 1- de pourvoir à l'unité de la nation et d'en établir l'ordre juridique et politique;
- 2- de stimuler, coordonner, orienter et, au besoin, diriger les activités économiques, sociales et culturelles de la nation, en subordonnant les intérêts particuliers au bien commun;
- 3- de veiller constamment à l'amélioration des classes sociales les plus défavorisées en s'efforçant de leur assurer un niveau de vie digne de la personne humaine.<sup>28</sup>

### La propriété, le capital et le travail en Laurentie:

La propriété, le capital et le travail exercent une fonction sociale, sous le régime de la coopération économique et de la solidarité. La loi peut fixer les conditions de leur emploi ou de leur exploitation en accord avec les fins de la collectivité.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Constitution de la République de Laurentie, articles 2 et 61

<sup>28</sup> IBID. Articles 4-5.

<sup>29</sup> IBID. Article 30.





Ce dernier texte exprime le rejet du socialisme, du capitalisme privé et d'Etat et de la lutte des classes, comme base de la vie économique. Il présente aussi une nouvelle conception des rapports de production, fondés sur le travail et la "collaboration des classes dans le cadre professionnel et producteur."

Raymond Barbeau exprime ainsi sa pensée sur ce sujet:

La discipline des rapports de travail qui attribue à la profession organisée les rôles les plus étendus implique donc une nouvelle orientation: le but de la production n'est plus la fructification du capital, mais le perfectionnement de la vie sociale et l'amélioration des conditions d'existence de tous les travailleurs qui y participent, qu'ils soient ouvriers, employés, techniciens, chefs d'entreprise. Elle exige pour eux certaines responsabilités prises dans la mesure de leurs capacités réelles et, pour rendre efficace leur association, elle demande l'éducation industrielle des travailleurs manuels, aussi bien que l'éducation sociale des patrons. C'est pour toutes ces raisons que l'action professionnelle et corporative devient aussi une action culturelle, technique, sociale, économique et civique.<sup>30</sup>

### Le Corporatisme

Le corporatisme est un élément essentiel de la doctrine laurentienne. Il correspond pleinement aux deux thèmes fondamentaux, l'instauration d'un ordre social chrétien et la souveraineté nationale. Nous en présentons ici une brève description:

Régime corporatif a pour fondement la nation qui dans le monde moderne reste le plus authentique

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<sup>30</sup> Laurentie, no 104, p. 269.



cercle de communauté sociale, comme la plus forte entité politique. La nation canadienne-française est le sommet de la hiérarchie des idées politiques basées sur des réalités. Le régime corporatif s'appuie sur elle pour défendre le patrimoine commun et pour se dégager des chimères inter-nationalistes et des constructions collectivistes.

Le développement de la communauté nationale laurentienne doit aussi être basé sur une ferme doctrine sociale. Il faut donc poser comme fondement de la paix intérieure et de la justice sociale le principe de la collaboration des classes dans le cadre professionnel et producteur, le principe de l'égal respect des droits de différentes classes et entreprendre l'édification de la communauté nationale.

Le régime démocratique, les conceptions libérales ont octroyé aux individus des libertés qui aboutissent aux plus néfastes servitudes. Le régime corporatif répond à un besoin véritable et à une aspiration unanime d'organisation de la collectivité dans son cadre naturel, celui du travail. C'est pourquoi il aboutit à l'entente des classes, au régime de la volonté populaire exprimée dans le domaine de ses besoins, de ses intérêts, de sa compétence: le domaine professionnel.<sup>31</sup>

### Vers L'Indépendance

Selon la doctrine laurentienne, l'indépendance étant pleinement justifiée, sa réalisation doit se faire progressivement, sans violence et par voie de négociations. La volonté de se proclamer Etat souverain doit respecter les exigences du droit et de la justice et se conformer aux normes établies par les organismes internationaux.

La réalisation progressive de l'indépendance implique toute une série de mesures qui peuvent être prises, dès maintenant,

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<sup>31</sup> Laurentie, no 104, p. 268.



par le gouvernement provincial actuel. La première de ces mesures serait la reprise des pouvoirs fiscaux:

Le premier pas vers l'indépendance nationale sera l'augmentation progressive et par étape bien déterminée de l'impôt provincial sur les revenus des corporations et des particuliers.<sup>32</sup>

Il faudrait aussi, que dès maintenant l'Etat du Québec:

Rejette la juridiction de la Cour Suprême, organisme fédéral qui n'a rien d'une cour constitutionnelle;

Refuse tous les plans conjoints avec Ottawa vu les autres Etats provinciaux;

Réorganise l'enseignement et la recherche à tous les degrés, et particulièrement dans le domaine des sciences économiques, politiques et sociales et crée dans les universités des chaires de civilisation canadienne-française;

Mette sur le marché des Obligations d'épargne;

Nationalise certaines grandes industries ou services publics;

Donne la préférence à des capitaux québécois lorsqu'il s'agit d'établir de nouvelles industries;

Exige qu'un pourcentage de 51% des actions ordinaires soit réservé aux actionnaires résidant dans le Québec;

Force les industries à transformer principalement ou totalement les matières premières dans les usines du Québec;

Crée des tribunaux du Travail;

Organise un ministère des Coopératives et amène l'industrie et l'économie à se donner des structures coopératives;

Règlemente l'immigration et oblige les entreprises du Québec à embaucher d'abord des Québécois;

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<sup>32</sup> Laurentie, no 101, p. 20.







Pratique une politique en vue du bien commun québécois sans se soucier des réactions du gouvernement fédéral.<sup>33</sup>

Le cheminement vers l'indépendance exige aussi la réorientation des institutions vers Québec, en même temps que le sabotage des institutions pancanadiennes:

Comme la période verbale de l'indépendantisme a été parfaitement réussie, il faut désormais adapter notre action aux besoins du moment: poursuivre le sabotage des institutions fédérales, parachever le séparatisme de fait qui s'accomplit presque silencieusement sous nos yeux dans plusieurs organismes pancanadiens, aider à disloquer tout ce qui constitue une forme ou une autre de colonisme et nourrir de doctrine l'esprit séparatiste qui prend des proportions réjouissantes, voilà les prochains objectifs du mouvement républicain.<sup>34</sup>

Conjointement et parallèlement, il faut travailler en vue d'installer à Québec un gouvernement indépendantiste. Pour ce faire,

quand une bonne partie de la population sera convaincue de la nécessité de l'indépendance, il sera nécessaire de procéder à la formation d'un parti politique républicain qui briguera les suffrages aux élections québécoises. Fort de l'appui d'une minorité agissante et, plus tard, de celui de la majorité éclairée et dynamique de la population, l'occasion lui sera donnée de prendre démocratiquement le pouvoir au parlement de Québec.

Après une période de négociations entre les intéressés et de mise en marche du programme de

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<sup>33</sup>Barbeau, La libération économique ----, p. 157

<sup>34</sup>Barbeau, Le Devoir, le 5 février, 1964.



libération nationale, la République sera proclamée,  
abolissant tous les liens du Québec avec la  
Confédération et supprimant tout reste de colonialisme  
politique, économique et culturel.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Raymond Barbeau, La libération économique du Québec, P. 153.



Section VI

CONCLUSIONS

by

Charles Barker



## Forward

In conclusion, an overview of the four movements is presented. The movements are compared and placed in a broader perspective.

## Organization

The four movements attained varying sizes and degrees of internal organization. The RIN was by far the largest and most influential. Its personnel was the most numerous. It possessed certain technical services - social science researchers worked for the Political Committee. There were both central and regional groupings and a number of special committees. By 1965, the RIN had a rudimentary electoral organization and a comprehensive political programme. Five years after its founding, the RIN appeared active and dynamic.

The RN was a much smaller movement. It did not have the well-defined structures or technical services of the RIN. Though officially a political party, it was not organized to contest elections. One year old in the fall of 1965, the RN seemed to face an uncertain future.

Based on a review, Parti Pris was different from the other movements. Its structures were molded less to political organization than to publishing the review. The movement was two years old in 1965 and had taken on a certain permanence.





The Alliance Laurentienne was a small grouping which was founded in 1957 and went out of existence in 1962. At first, its objective was the political education of the public, but later the movement turned to lobbying. The Alliance was never very influential, but was important as the first of modern separatist movements.

### Ideology

The movements all favoured Quebec independence and devoted parts of their programmes to the subject. However, on other issues, views varied widely. The ideologies of the movements can be reviewed under four headings: concepts of independence; economic, social and political views; religion; and the role of the independence party.

Concepts of Independence: The case for independence is presented both in theoretical terms - i.e. logical and a priori arguments - and on the basis of empirical observations. Often the two aspects are mixed together.

One argument is accepted by all the movements. In logical terms, since French Canadians constitute a nation and live in Quebec, and since nations should form independent states, it follows that Quebec itself should be an independent state.



A second view of independence is based on theories of colonialism. Quebec is a colony and the mass of the Quebec population is exploited by outsiders and a small internal elite. This view is presented forcefully by Parti Pris writers, but is common to the other movements as well.

Thirdly, the case for independence is often based on empirical observations. Members from all movements argue that French Canada's situation is grave indeed. With French Canadians under-represented in Ottawa, the Federal Government makes all its decisions in the interests of the English majority. The only French language government is the Quebec Government, but Quebec's powers have been seriously limited by federal intrusions into provincial affairs. In cultural terms, French Canada has been moving towards extinction, assimilation taking place everywhere. Independence is the only answer to such problems.

A fourth view is proper to the Regroupement National and the Alliance Laurentienne only. Quebec is seen as a French and Catholic province whose interests are being neglected in a federal system dominated by an English and Protestant majority. Thus Quebec should separate. The social doctrines of the Catholic Church and the traditional values of French Canada can be used as guidelines for the new state.



Economic-social-political views: The four movements have very different views on social and economic problems. Parti Pris is violently dissatisfied with the status quo, the RIN only slightly less so. By contrast, the Regroupement National and the Alliance Laurentienne both have strong commitments to the established order.

Parti Pris calls for a social revolution in Quebec. Existing conditions are unacceptable. Quebecers suffer from all the complexes and difficulties of the colonial being - feelings of inferiority, timidity, internal frustrations, ill-health, and fear. A complete transformation of Quebec society is necessary.

The RIN believes firmly in the use of the state to achieve ends of social reform. The state must provide equality of opportunity for all citizens. Better education facilities and more welfare are needed. There must be a tighter control of natural resources and a carefully planned economic and social development.

The RN favours only minor social reforms. The movement advocates private initiative and fears excessive state intervention. The RN suggests that the state should guarantee a strong position for the Church in a nation which is almost totally Catholic. The Alliance Laurentienne position seems close to that of the Regroupement National.





Religious orientation: Parti Pris is very critical of the Church in Quebec. The role of the Church must be de-emphasized. The clergy is accused of maltreating the people in many ways and of aiding and abetting the colonialist. The RIN also wants a secular society, but it does not take any official position on religion or the Church as such.

The Regroupement National and Alliance Laurentienne are favourable to the Church and the existing religious order. The Catholic faith is important to so many Quebec people that it should be safeguarded by the state. The new Quebec republic will draw inspiration from Church doctrines.

The role of the independence party: There are particular conceptions of the independence party in each of the movements. The Parti Pris writers see themselves as an intellectual vanguard, a group which can lead the population to a better understanding of the colonial situation and the need for social revolution. The RIN conceives of itself as a political party within the Quebec political system. As such, its goals are political education and participation in the electoral process. The RN also views itself as a political party and hopes to attain independence, like the RIN, through publicity, political education, and participation in elections. The Alliance Laurentienne was at first purely a movement of political education. Later, its leaders came to believe in the need for lobbying and other types of direct political action.



### Membership and Social Base

Membership Size: The RIN had about 6000 members in 1964-5, Parti Pris 2,000 regular readers, the Regroupement National 100 members, and the Alliance Laurentienne 50 members at its peak. However, active workers were fewer, numbering 100 at the RIN and no more than a handful at the other movements.

Age: The youngest movement was Parti Pris. The average age of Parti Pris editors was 25 years. In the RIN, the leaders averaged 38.5 years and the membership at large 31 years. The RN members were older - around 40 years of age. The active members in the four movements were relatively young men: a few in their twenties, many more in their thirties, and some in their forties.

Sex: The members of the four movements were mostly men. The few women present were usually the wives of members.

Ethnic origin, maternal tongue, and religion: The ethnic origin and maternal language were French almost without exception. With regard to religious views and affiliation, almost all members were raised in the Roman Catholic faith. However, a large number had disassociated themselves from the Church. This trend was particularly noticeable in Parti Pris and the RIN, but much less evident in the RN and Alliance Laurentienne.



Education: Most of the leaders of the movements attended college (collège classique) and university. They took professional training or advanced studies. The memberships at large were not so well educated - sometimes without a secondary school education.

Occupation and Social Class: Members of the four movements tended to belong to the middle classes of society. Leaders were often professionals or businessmen with high incomes. Members at large were sometimes civil servants, junior employees of large corporations, or small businessmen. Parti Pris members tended to be slightly different. As younger men, they were not yet established in a profession and had little income. Many came from lower income families and were making considerable sacrifices to work at the review Parti Pris.

Region: Three movements - the RIN, Parti Pris and the Alliance - were Montreal-based. Two, Parti Pris and the Alliance, never had much support outside Montreal. The RIN had sections in other parts of the province, but the Headquarters and Chief Officers were in Montreal. The RN was the only movement without Montreal support.

Quebec City was a second center for the movements where both the RIN and RN had well-organized sections. There was also scattered support for the RIN and RN in other areas of the province: the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean area, the





Eastern Townships, the Bois-Francs Region, and the Lower St. Lawrence Region.

In summary, the active members of the movements can be characterized in the following way. First, they were men usually in their thirties. Secondly, they belonged to the middle class and were professionals or businessmen by occupation. Finally, they were urban dwellers and very often Montrealers.

#### The Nationalist Background

Members of the movements were often nationalists of long standing. Families were nationalist by tradition. The works of Bourassa and Groulx were well known and respected. Later nationalist ideas were reinforced by university studies and other experiences.

At least three types of experiences seemed to promote ideas of separatism. First, there were threats to the individual's identity as a French Canadian. These frequently arose from living in a minority situation either in an English-speaking part of Quebec or another province. Occasionally, unpleasant experiences with English Canadians were important; remarks such as "speak white" could not be forgotten.

Secondly, personal acquaintances seemed to play a role in the decision for independence. Friends who were





separatists were influential. They could offer invitations to party meetings. Once in the atmosphere of a separatist movement, it was easy to be caught up in the enthusiasm and to believe in the independence ideal.

Thirdly, the independence movement could fulfill certain personal needs. The movement could offer an opportunity for self-expression and private initiative and give recognition for work done. There was often a good morale in the movement. Especially in cases where an individual was frustrated in outside work, there was an opportunity to fulfill oneself in a meaningful way.

### Political Activities

Many members of the movements were involved in matters of internal organization ranging from the supervision of finances to secretarial work. Others were active in external relations. This included dealing with the public directly or through the publication of a newspaper. Yet another preoccupation was the building of an electoral organization. Several leaders also carried out research into the theories of Quebec independence.

Of the four movements, the RIN was the most concerned with internal organization. Congresses and other meetings were held at regular intervals. Members prepared working



documents. There were frequent recruiting programmes. There was a great deal of secretarial and clerical work. The RN, Parti Pris, and Alliance Laurentienne paid less attention to organization. There were fewer meetings and fewer documents.

With regard to external relations, all four movements were active. Each put out a newspaper or review and a good deal of propaganda. The review was particularly important in the case of Parti Pris. The RIN was active in lobbying, the other movements slightly less so. The RIN submitted a brief to the Constitutional Committee of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec, and the Alliance presented a brief to the Parent Commission. The RIN and Parti Pris held several demonstrations.

The RIN and RN viewed themselves as political parties and sought to build electoral organizations. The RIN, RN and Parti Pris developed political programmes which they placed before the public.

The leaders of all movements were active in the field of research on independence. Raymond Barbeau, Marcel Chaput, and René Jutras all published books on the subject. André d'Allemagne prepared the study which took the form of the brief to the Constitutional Committee. The Political Committee of the RIN based its report on 30 different studies.



In summary, the activities of the movements can be classified under headings of internal organization, external relations, electoral activity and research. RIN members especially spent a great deal of time on internal organization. All movements were concerned with external relations. The RIN and RN were concerned with building an electoral organization. Finally, some members of each movement were concerned with research and the development of theories connected with Quebec independence.

### General Perspectives

The movements were centred around small groups of activists. These were usually men from the middle classes, urban dwellers, and in their thirties. They worked at the movements on a voluntary and part-time basis. With the exception of the RIN, the movements tended to be loose groupings. Not all movements were able to survive over time; the Alliance Laurentienne went out of existence in 1962, 5 years after its founding.

Nevertheless, despite the fall of the Alliance, the separatist movement in general gained strength between 1960 and 1965. In order to reply effectively to the separatists, Quebec politicians from the traditional parties seemed forced to adopt nationalist positions. There was the threat that, if established leaders did not adopt nationalist attitudes, political control might pass to more radical men.







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